This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

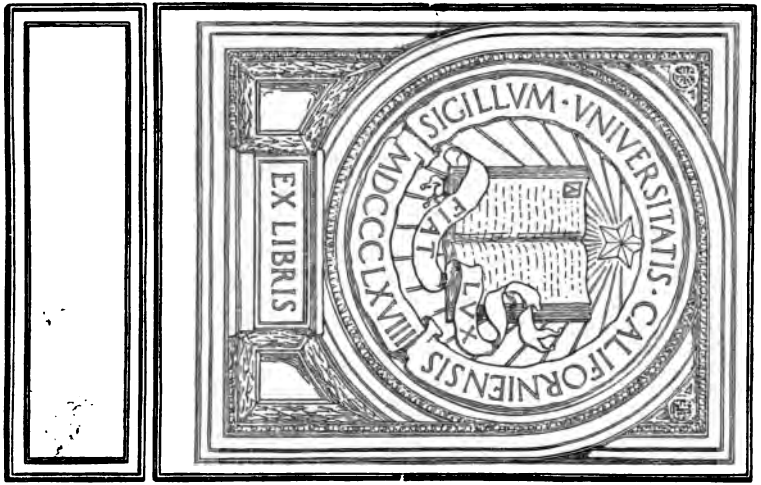
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


EX LIBRIS
SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
FIAT LVX
MDCCCLXVIII

79486.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

ISAAC PENINGTON;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A REVIEW OF HIS WRITINGS:

BY

JOSEPH GURNEY BEVAN.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY WILLIAM PHILLIPS,
George-Yard, Lombard-Street.

1807.

BX7795
P4B4

INTRODUCTION.

THE character of a man may be known by his writings; and it must be allowed of greater importance to inspect the thoughts of a virtuous man, than simply to know the outward circumstances of his life. But when we are pleased or edified with the writings of an author of distinction, we become naturally curious to know the manner in which he passed his time; and, on the other hand, if we are led from the perusal of biography, to believe that the subject of it was a person qualified to please or to edify, we are disposed to continue our acquaintance, by perusing also the memorials of his wisdom which he has left behind him.

It is chiefly on the former account that a collection of the few scattered accounts of the

M115851

life of Isaac Penington would be, if well executed, a useful work. His numerous tracts have been three times edited, and lie open to the access of every one. They are generally grateful and consolatory to that class of readers which is composed of persons who feel their own feeble state, with respect to religious concerns; and desire to be, so far as it is right they should be, assisted by the experience of others. But two quarto, or four octavo volumes, closely printed, are, to many, formidable things; and it is certain too, that considerable attention of mind is a requisite qualification, and considerable calmness of mind a very desirable one, to sit down to the perusal of the valuable remains of this eminent friend. Cursory readers, also, have imputed to Isaac Penington the charge of mysticism: a term, as generally used, of not the most definite import, but sometimes sufficient to deter the impatient from examining for themselves into the justice of the charge.

It is then worth the attempt, to introduce, by a short memorial, so excellent a writer as Isaac Penington, to the knowledge of such as are not likely otherwise to undertake to know him for themselves; and there is the more reason to hope that the account which I have compiled, may occasion a desire to know more of him,

because it must necessarily include many extracts, in which he will be permitted to relate, in his own terms, his own history.

In the narrative considerable use is made of a manuscript Account of many particular events in the life of Mary Penington, wife of Isaac Penington, written by herself. Recourse has also been had to a manuscript Collection of letters written on various occasions by Isaac Penington, lately presented by John Kendall, of Colchester, to the library belonging to Friends in London.

However, beside the many specimens of his temper and manner, which are interspersed throughout this biographical sketch, I have provided a slight epitome of his written labours, in the Review† which follows it. By the perusal of both, I believe the reader will form an idea, not very far from the truth, of the character of this our predecessor in profession. I hope that

† In the second part of the Review the reader will frequently observe mention made of Whiting's Catalogue. The title at length is, 'A Catalogue of Friends' Books; written 'by many of the people called Quakers, from the beginning 'or first appearance of the said people, collected for a 'general service, by J. W. London, 1708:' about 238 pages, 8vo. It is the prime book for such as wish to make a collection of our ancient Friends' writings.

it may induce him occasionally to have immediate recourse to his instructive page; and I heartily desire that an acquaintance with it may be beneficial: as it will be, if it prove the means of leading him to a more intimate acquaintance with his own wants, and with the power and love of his Redeemer.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

His birth—education—station of his father—some hints at his political sentiments, and his moderation, taken from his early writings—his marriage—the reproof given to him and his wife, for their gaiety, by a friend—further discourse with this person—interview with T. Curtis and W. Simpson, by which Mary Penington is convinced—Isaac at J. Crook's in Bedfordshire, there fully convinced by George Fox—his account of his spiritual travail, taken from his treatise 'Concerning God's teachings 'and Christ's law'—further account from T. Ellwood's testimony—further account from Works, vol. 2. p. 49—further account from his Address to the Rulers, Teachers, and People of New-England, Works, vol. 1. p. cclvi. *page* 1.

CHAP. II.

Account of Mary Penington—her desire to be able to perform true prayer—her written, and

extemporaneous prayer — marries Colonel Springett—her husband's death—refuses to have her child sprinkled—seeks solitude, for prayer—yet attends diversions—a dream—her habit of trust—cannot pray—another remarkable dream—her marriage with I. Penington, and its motives—some previous knowledge of Friends—her state of mind when Curtis and Simpson visited the family—her conflicts—her joy at the first meeting held in I. Penington's house—further account of her spiritual state. *page* 35.

CHAP. III.

Reproaches and insults bestowed on I. and M. Penington—extract of a letter to his father—a visit from the family of Ellwood—the alteration in that of I. P.—its effects—a second visit, at which the younger Ellwood is convinced—M. Penington pleads for him with his father, and takes him to Chalfont. First imprisonment of Isaac Penington — his letter from prison to T. Ellwood—the manner of his confinement — his employment — his piece 'Concerning the Magistrate's protection of 'the innocent'—release—apprehended again but not imprisoned—is the means of introducing Ellwood, as reader, to Milton—engages him as tutor to his children—some extracts from his writings — second imprisonment—third imprisonment, having been taken into

custody whilst attending the burial of a friend —his cheerfulness in prison—release—fourth imprisonment—plague in the gaol—released —soon imprisoned a fifth time—his letter to the Earl of Bridgewater—his health impaired —his release—letter to a friend—to George Fox—to Friends of Amersham. *page* 51.

CHAP. IV.

Loss of his estate—attachment to his friends in Bucks—goes to board at Waltham-Abbey, Essex—by the assistance of his wife purchases a house at Amersham Woodside—she superintends the alterations—Conventicle-act—sixth imprisonment, at Reading—released by patent with many others—his constancy in suffering—death of his son at sea—his tract entitled 'Flesh and blood of Christ,' &c.—its occasion—a review of it—letter to a friend. *page* 91.

CHAP. V.

Goes to Astrop Wells—writes to the resorters to that spot—also his tract called 'The everlasting Gospel,' &c.—also to the Oxford scholars—goes into Kent—at meeting in Canterbury—taken ill—dies at Goodnestone-Court—buried at Jordan's, Bucks—register—some account of those who wrote testimonies of him—G. Whitehead—S. Jennings—A. Rigge—T. Zachary—

R. Jones—T. Evernden—C. Taylor—A. Parker—copy of his son's testimony—of his wife's, *page* 115,

CHAP. VI.

Account of his widow—her state of mind—her daughter Gulielma Penn—laid up with a fever at Edmonton—her state of mind when ill, and ailing—her fear of death removed—dies at Worminghurst, Sussex, *page* 184,

REVIEW. PART I.

Review of the writings of Isaac Penington, before he joined the Society of Friends.

Page

1. A Touchstone, or trial of Faith, &c. 1648. 145
2. The great and sole Troubler of the Times, represented in a map of misery, &c. 1649. - 147
3. A Voice out of the thick darkness, &c. 1650. 148
4. Light or Darkness, displaying or hiding itself, as it pleaseth, &c. 1650. - - - *ibid.*
5. Several fresh inward Openings, &c. 1650. 149
6. An Echo from the great deep, &c. 1650. *ibid.*
7. The fundamental right, safety, and liberty of the people, &c. 1651. - - - 151
8. The life of a Christian, which is a lamp kindled and lighted from the love of Christ, &c. 1653. 152

Page

9. A considerable question about Government briefly discussed, &c. 1653. - - 153
10. Divine Essays, or considerations about several things in Religion, &c. 1654. - 155
11. Expositions, with observations sometimes, on several scriptures, &c. 1656. - - 157

REVIEW. PART II.

Review of the writings of Isaac Penington, after he joined the Society of Friends.

Page

1. The way of life and death made manifest, &c. 1658. - - - - - - 167
2. The scattered sheep sought after, &c. 1659. 169
3. Babylon the Great described, &c. 1659. 171
4. The Jew outward, being a glass for the professors of this age, &c. 1659. - - 172
5. The Axe laid to the root of the old corrupt tree, &c. 1659. - - - 173
6. To the Parliament, the Army, and all the well-affected in the nation. 1659. - 176
7. A brief account of some Reasons, &c. No date. *ibid.*
8. Some considerations, proposed to the city of London, &c. No date. - - 177
9. Some considerations proposed to the distracted nation of England. 1659. - - *ibid.*
10. To the Army. - - - 178
11. A question propounded to the rulers, &c. of England, 1659. - - - *ibid.*
12. The root of Popery struck at, &c. 1660. *ibid.*

Page

13. An examination of the grounds or causes, &c. respecting the persecution in New-England. 1660. - - - 180
14. A warning of love, &c. 1660. - 181
15. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? &c. 1660. - - - - 182
16. An Epistle to all such as observe the seventh day of the week for a sabbath. 1660. - *ibid.*
17. The new covenant of the gospel distinguished from the old covenant of the law, &c. 1660. *ibid.*
18. Some few queries, &c. proposed to the Cavaliers, &c. No date. - - - 183
19. Some queries concerning the work of God in the world, &c. 1660. - - - 184
20. The consideration of a position concerning the book of Common Prayer. 1660. - 185
21. An answer to that common objection against the Quakers, that they condemn all but themselves. 1660. - - 187
22. The great question concerning Swearing, &c. 1661. - - - - 188
23. Somewhat spoken to a weighty question, concerning the magistrate's protection of the innocent, &c. 1661. - - *ibid.*
24. Concerning Persecution, &c. 1661. - 189
25. Some directions to the panting soul, &c. 1661 190
26. Concerning the worship of the living God, &c. No date. - - - 191
27. To all such as complain that they want power, &c. 1661. - - - - *ibid.*
28. Some questions and answers for the opening of the eyes of the Jews natural, &c. 1661. 192
29. Some questions and answers showing man his duty, &c. 1662. - - 193
30. Some observations on that portion of scripture, Rom. xiv. 20. 1662. - - - 194

Page

31. Three queries propounded to the King and Parliament. No date. - 195
32. A salutation of love and tender good-will to the Commissioners of the Peace for the county of Bucks. No date. - 196
33. A weighty question propounded to the King and both Houses of Parliament. 1663. *ibid.*
34. Some of the Mysteries of God's kingdom glanced at, &c. 1663. - 198
35. Some deep considerations, concerning the state of Israel, past, present, and to come, &c. No date. - 201
36. Concerning God's seeking out his Israel, &c. 1663. - 203
37. Some queries concerning the order and government of the church of Christ. No date. - 206
38. To Friends in England, Ireland, &c. 1666. 207
39. One more tender visitation to this generation, &c. 1666. - 208
40. Concerning the Church, under the Gospel, &c. 1666. - *ibid.*
41. Concerning the sum or substance of our Religion, who are called Quakers. No date. 209
42. Some things of great weight and concernment to all, &c. 1667. - 210
43. A question to the professors of Christianity, &c. 1667. - 212
44. To such as are not satisfied with a profession, &c. 1668 - 215
45. Observations on some passages of Lodowick Muggleton, &c. 1668. - *ibid.*
46. Some things relating to Religion, proposed to the Royal Society, &c. 1668. - 216
47. Of the Church in its first and pure state, in its declining state, &c. 1668. - 219

Page

48. An inquiry after Truth and Righteousness, &c. 1671. - - - 221
49. The holy Truth and People defended, &c. 1672. - - - - 222
50. The ancient principle of Truth, &c. 1672 223
51. Naked Truth, &c. 1674. - - 225
52. The flesh and blood of Christ testified to, &c. 1675. - - - - 228
53. To the Jews natural and spiritual, &c. 1677. 230
54. The everlasting Gospel testified to, &c. 1678. 233
55. A further testimony to Truth. Posthumous. *ibid.*
56. Life and Immortality brought to light through the Gospel. Posth. - - 236
57. A reply to queries and animadversions. Posth. 243
58. A few experiences, &c. Posth. - 247
59. A treatise concerning God's teachings, &c. Posth. - - - - 249
60. A question answered, concerning reading the Scriptures aright. Posth. - - 252
61. Somewhat relating to Church-government. Posth. - - - - 254
62. Some misrepresentations of Me, concerning church-government, cleared. Posth. - 256
63. The Seed of God, and of his kingdom, treated of, &c. Posth. - - 258
64. An epistle to all serious professors. Posth. 261
65. A reply to an answer of some queries. Posth. 265

Also, the following short pieces, scarcely to be called books.

a. Five Epistles to Friends in Chalfont. - *ibid*
b. Some queries concerning compulsion in Religion. *ibid*
c. Concerning the dispensation of the Gospel. *ibid*
d. Some experiences, &c. - - 266
e. Concerning the times and seasons, &c. - 267

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the second part of the Review, may be found some observations on the following important subjects; in most of which the sense of our author on them is plainly apparent.

Atonement -	*Page* 264	Love - -	*Page* 199
Christ - -	245	Perfection -	246 248
Co-essence -	238 *ibid*	Peter's 2d Ep. i. 19.	224
Imputation - -	242	Reading the Scriptures	253
Infallibility - -	266	Scripture - -	244
John's 1st Epistle, v. 7	262	The Seed - -	258
Joy - - -	228	Silent worship -	251
The Lord's Prayer -	239	Trinity - -	263

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAP. I.

His birth—education—station of his father—some hints at his political sentiments, and his moderation, taken from his early writings—his marriage—the reproof given to him and his wife, for their gaiety, by a friend—further discourse with this person—interview with T. Curtis and W. Simpson—by which Mary Penington is convinced—Isaac at J. Crook's in Bedfordshire, there fully convinced by George Fox—his account of his spiritual travail, taken from his treatise 'Concerning God's teachings, and Christ's 'law'—further account from T. Ellwood's Testimony—further account from Works, Vol. 2. p. 49—further account from his Address to the Rulers, Teachers, and People of New England, Works, Vol. 1. p. cclvi.

ISAAC PENINGTON was born about the year 1616, heir, to use the words of his son-in-law* William Penn, to a fair inheritance. It would

* By marriage with Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Isaac Penington's wife by a former husband.

be gratifying to trace the steps of the childhood of a man, in whom the simplicity of the child so long survived the weakness; but until further search can be made, it must suffice to learn from the same author, that his education was suitable to his quality among men, and that he had all the advantages that the schools and universities of his own country could bestow; as well as such as arose from the conversation of some of the most knowing and considerable men of the time. He arrived at manhood at a period when England was agitated with the tempest of civil commotion, by means of the discord between Charles I. and his parliament; and as the father of Penington was himself a violent partisan, the son, had his temper inclined him to enter the lists, might probably soon have arisen to eminence in the republic. But he seems early to have set his mind on another contest than the one for worldly power; and 'to have chosen a life dedicated to an 'inquiry after God, and a holy fellowship with 'his despised' people. He chose, he sought, he strove, and he obtained; but had his choice been to follow the path into which his father had entered, disappointment would most likely have been the ultimate consequence. The elder Penington had been chief magistrate of the metropolis, he had raised the forces of the city to join the parliament's army, he had been intrusted with the charge of the Tower, and had been one of the council of state; but the Restoration reversed the condition of public affairs, and he died

a prisoner in the fortress, which he had formerly commanded.

But though Isaac Penington forbore to enter into the contests which rent the nation, he was far from being an unconcerned spectator of the misery of his country. To this some of the tracts which he published long before he joined the Society of Friends, bear ample testimony. But he looked for the cause of the evil rather in the depraved state of man's heart in general, than in any particular party or set of men. In the preface to one tract, published in 1650, entitled, according to the fashion of titles in those days, 'A Voice out of the thick Darkness,' he mentions an intention he had before conceived of publishing something concerning the state of affairs. 'I should have expressed,' says he, 'ill will to none, but only have uttered that 'deep affection that was then in me, towards the 'soldering and healing the distempers of such 'spirits as are made more miserable by their 'own discontents, than they could be by any 'thing else that can, in probability, befall 'them'—'There are one sort of men whom I 'should more especially have applied myself 'unto; who are wonderous eager after making 'the nation happy; whose spirits can be no 'ways satisfied till they see the attainment of 'that universal freedom, and the flowing forth 'of that universal, speedy justice, which is easy 'to be desired, but hard to be met with.' To persons of this description, he gives the follow-

ing advice. 'Be content to pass through your 'pilgrimage without the full enjoyment of that 'freedom ye have desired, and pressed so hard 'after. There is a power above, whose will may 'cross yours in this; which may as well find 'fault with your untowardness to be governed, 'as with the self-seeking of such as have been 'governors.'—'It is a brave thing sometimes 'to oppose the yoke; but a braver, from judg-'ment to submit unto it. It is, in many cases 'better for particular persons, yea for societies, 'to bear, than avoid the yoke.'—'It is the stiff-'ness of the neck, and unbrokenness of the spirit 'that chiefly makes all our yokes so harsh.' But he subjoins, 'Groan, pant after, and in a just 'way pursue, the attainment of perfect freedom. 'Lie not down as a slave, with a base, abject 'spirit, counting slavery best; but with a sweet 'spirit submit to it for necessity's sake; and let 'a sense appear of your prizing and desiring of 'liberty. And what way of attaining it is made 'out to you plainly and evidently justifiable, 'forbear not to fall in with; yet not in such a 'violent and irrational manner, as to make your 'more noble parts far worse slaves to brutish 'passions within, to avoid a more inferior slavery 'of the outward and more ignoble part.'

It is probable that notwithstanding the mild-ness and moderation of his temper, and his great preference of peace to contention, Penington in his judgment inclined to a commonwealth. For in the following year he published a pamphlet

entitled, 'The fundamental right, safety, and li-
'berty, of the people (which is radically in
'themselves, derivatively in the parliament, their
'substitutes or representatives) asserted.' 'This
'right,' saith he, 'lieth chiefly in these three
'things—in the people's choice of their govern-
'ment and governors—in the establishment of
'that government and governors whom they
'shall choose—and in the alteration of either as
'they shall find cause.' These principles are democratical, and accordingly the *Salus populi, suprema lex,* is the prominent feature of the book. But it is at most a representative, not a pure, democracy at which the author aims. He shows the impossibility of the people acting for themselves; and the impropriety of a parliament assuming both legislative and administrative power. He seems even not averse to the latter being placed in the hands of a king. 'Though' these are his words, 'I shall not plead for the re-
'settlement of kingly government (for I am
'not so far engaged in my affections to it, as it
'*yet* hath been) yet I would have a fair and
'friendly shaking hands with it, and not any
'blame laid upon it beyond its desert. For
'doubtless it is both proper, good, and useful
'in its kind; and hath its advantages above any
'other government on the one hand, as it hath
'also its disadvantages on the other hand.'

In short, though the desire of Penington seems to have been the general welfare of the people;

he only expected it (so far as civil policy can effect it), from the preservation of every rank in the state within its own limits. 'Kingly 'power,' thus he writes in his prefatory address to the parliament, 'did pass its limits, we may 'now speak it.' The times of Charles I. the late stretches of prerogative by that monarch, and the attempts at power independent of the parliament, were of course fresh in his memory: but Penington immediately subjoins, 'Doth parliamentary power keep within its limits?—'And 'if things should yet devolve lower, into the 'great and confused body of the people, is it 'likely they would keep their limits?'—'Man 'cannot be free in himself, nor free from himself, '(while self is in him it will make him selfish) 'and while it is so, others under his power or 'within his reach cannot be free.'

Another short extract from the body of the work may close the description of the political part of the character of Isaac Penington, and show that universal benevolence formed its basis. 'There is not one sort of men upon the face of the 'earth, to whom I bear any enmity in my spirit '(though in some respect I must confess my-'self an enemy to every sort of men); but wish, 'with all my heart, they might all attain and 'enjoy as much peace, prosperity, and happiness 'as their state will bear. There are not any to 'whom I should envy government; but, who-'ever they are, they should have my vote on

'their behalf, whom I saw fitted for it and called 'to it.'*

At the time of these publications Penington was more than thirty years of age: they are not, therefore, to be considered as the mere effusions of an ingenuous youthful mind; but as the result of observation and judgment, operating on a mind amply endued with philanthropy and piety. Nor can his attachment, at a much later period, to the principles of Friends, be ascribed of course to the ardency of a youthful imagination, for he had then arrived at least at his fortieth year; an age at which the manly character is, if ever, fully developed; and he appears, besides, by his writings, to have been a man of unusual calmness

* The following extract of a letter written many years after may further show how little of a politician, as the word is commonly used, was Penington. See Kendall's MS. Coll. Vol. 1. p. 334.—'Now as to his relation of the affairs of 'the late times, I was observed by all sorts to be one of a 'retired spirit and conversation, not meddling with affairs, 'covenants, or engagements; nor taking any advantage of 'preferment, gain, or honour, in those times, when thrust 'upon me; but mourned with those that suffered in those 'times; not expecting much happiness from outward 'changes; nor satisfied with any of the changes that then 'were. I would I could yet see the change which I have, 'all along, longed to see, which was not of the outward 'form of government, but from unrighteousness to right-'eousness. This is the plain truth of my heart in these 'things, and I could wish from my heart that the Lord 'God of heaven and earth had taught thee to fear and love 'God and the king, as he hath done me, in truth and right-'eousness.'

of mind. He had married, in what year I do not find*, Mary, the widow of Colonel Springett; and at the time of his adopting the profession of Friends lived on his estate at Chalfont, called St. Peter's, in Buckinghamshire. The ground of their union was a coincidence in religious sentiments. Each had long been dissatisfied with many of the forms in use, even in those times of supposed reformation; each was earnestly seeking after a religion that could bring assurance with it; and each was in no small degree already acquainted with spiritual exercises, and devotions. One day, as they were walking together in a park, a man who had lately attached himself to the people called Quakers, rode by; and remarking their gay apparel, reproved them aloud for their pride. Mary Penington replied with disdain, 'You are 'a public preacher indeed, thus to preach on the 'high-way.' The stranger, who, having said what appeared so far sufficient for him, was probably riding on, now turned back; for he said that he again felt a love for Isaac Penington, as he saw grace in his very countenance. He therefore drew up close to the pales, and spoke to them of the light and grace of God, which had appeared to all men. Isaac Penington engaged him in discourse, and the occupier of the premises invited him in; but as he perceived Penington to be superior to him in argument, by means of his natural and acquired abilities,

* Probably not later than 1654, ætat. 38.

and as he knew himself to be but young in religious experience, he declined the debate; but said that he would the next day bring with him a man, who should answer all the questions and objections of his learned disputant. The person thus intended to be produced was George Fox; but the zealous stranger was disappointed of his assistance; and our pious couple were visited by two other friends, namely Thomas Curtis of Reading, and William Simpson from Lancashire. I do not find any particulars of their conversation so far as it related to Isaac. Mary has left an account of the effect of the visit on her mind, as tending to her fully giving up her heart to the doctrines and practices of Friends. It is also not to be doubted that Isaac received in this conference some inducements to make trial of their doctrines; but he was not hasty to adopt their manners; and indeed those of the persons who had declared to him these doctrines, appeared very mean and contemptible.

It is not easy to fix with precision the date of the convincement of Isaac Penington. Alexander Parker, an eminent friend, in his testimony prefixed to Penington's works, says that he first saw him at a meeting at Reading in the year 1656 (probably attracted thither by acquaintance with Thomas Curtis); and that though Penington did not then bear the garb and appearance of a friend, his soul cleaved to him in the bowels of the love of truth. William Penn, in a similar testimony, but in his own peculiar

style, says, 'About the year 1657 it pleased the 'Lord to send him a Peter, to declare to him 'that the time of the pouring forth of the Holy 'Spirit, and breaking forth of the heavenly 'work of God, in the souls of men and women, 'was come; and many Aquilas and Priscillas 'came after, who instructed him in the way of 'God more perfectly.' It seems, however, to have been at a meeting held at the house of John Crook, who had been in the commission of the peace, in Bedfordshire, and by means of the preaching of George Fox, that Isaac Penington became fully satisfied. Of this meeting, which was held about the time called Whitsuntide, 1658, and of the doctrine preached in it, there is a large account in the Journal, or rather Annals, of George Fox.—'At this meeting,' says Alexander Parker before mentioned, 'the mys-'tery of iniquity was so opened, and the mys-'tery of the gospel of peace so plainly mani-'fested, that he (Penington) was fully satisfied; 'and from that time gave up himself to the 'obedience of Truth—took up the cross—and 'suffered with us for the name and testimony 'of Jesus.' These dates bespeak him to have been from forty to forty-two years of age when he joined the rising and persecuted society of Friends. The steps which led to this event, and the peaceful establishment of the mind of Isaac Penington in the adoption of this despised profession, let his own words declare.

'I was acquainted,' says he, 'with a spring of 'life from my childhood, which enlightened me 'in my tender years, and pointed my heart to- 'wards the Lord, begetting true sense in me, 'and faith, and hope, and love, and humility, 'and meekness, &c. so that indeed I was a won- 'der to some that knew me, because of the 'savour and life of religion which dwelt in my 'heart, and appeared in my conversation. But 'I never durst trust the spring of my life, and 'the springings up of life therefrom; but in 'reading the scriptures, gathered what know- 'ledge I could therefrom, and set this over the 'spring and springings of life in me; and indeed 'judged that I ought so to do. Notwithstand- 'ing which, the Lord was very tender and mer- 'ciful to me, helping me to pray, and helping 'me to understand the scriptures, and opening 'and warming my heart every day. And truly, 'my soul was very near the Lord, and my heart 'was made and preserved very low and humble 'before him, and very sensible of his rich love 'and mercy to me in the Lord Jesus Christ: as 'I did daily from my heart cry grace, grace, 'unto him, in every thing my soul received and 'partook of from him.'

'Indeed I did not look to have been so broken, 'shattered, and distressed, as I afterwards was, 'and could by no means understand the mean- 'ing thereof, my heart truly and earnestly de- 'siring after the Lord, and not having the sense 'of any guilt upon me.'—'At that time, when

'I was broken and dashed to pieces in my religion, I was in a congregational way; but soon after parted with them, yet in great love, relating to them how the hand of the Lord was upon me, and how I was smitten in the inward part of my religion, and could not now hold up an outward form of that which I inwardly wanted: having lost my God, my Christ, my faith, my knowledge, my life, my all. And so we parted very lovingly, I wishing them well, even the presence of that God whom I wanted, promising to return to them again, if ever I met with that which my soul wanted, and had clearness in the Lord so to do.'

'After I was parted from them, I never joined to any way or people; but lay mourning day and night, pleading with the Lord, why he had forsaken me, and why I should be made so miserable through my love to him, and sincere desires after him. For truly, I can say, I had not been capable of so much misery as my soul lay in for many years, had not my love been so deep and true towards the Lord my God, and my desires so great after the sensible enjoyment of his Spirit, according to the promise and way of the gospel. Yet this I can also say in uprightness of heart, It was not gifts I desired, to appear and shine before men in; but grace and holiness, and the Spirit of the Lord dwelling in me, to act my heart by his grace, and to preserve me in holiness.'

'Now indeed the Lord at length had compas-
'sion on me, and visited me; though in a time
'and way wherein I expected him not; nor
'was I willing (as to the natural part) to have
'*that* the way, which God showed me to *be* the
'way; but the Lord opened mine eye, and that
'which I know to be of him in me closed with
'it, and owned it; and the pure seed was raised
'by his power, and my heart taught to know and
'own the seed, and to bow and worship before the
'Lord in the pure power, which was then in my
'heart. So that of a truth I sensibly knew and
'felt my Saviour, and was taught by him to take
'up the cross, and to deny that understanding,
'knowledge, and wisdom, which had so long
'stood in my way: and then I learned that lesson
'(being really taught it of the Lord), what it is
'indeed to become a fool for Christ's sake. I
'cannot say but I had learned somewhat of it
'formerly; but I never knew how to keep to
'what I had learned till that day.'*

In this extract there is not any express declaration that the way which was at length cast up before the view of Isaac Penington, and in which he was enabled steadily to proceed through life, was the way pursued by Friends. The following is more explicit on that head. It is entitled 'A 'true and faithful relation, in brief, concerning 'myself, in reference to my spiritual travails, 'and the Lord's dealings with me. I say true 'and faithful, because it is of the Truth, and not

* Penington's Works, 2d Edit. Vol. II. p. 511, 512.

'given forth in my own will, but in the Lord's 'will and requirings of me at this time, for his 'service.' There will, doubtless, be found in it some of the same kind of matter as forms a part of the extract already cited. To the spiritual traveller, however, this similarity will not be insipid, and it is possible that even critical readers may allow that the following piece is not unaptly selected, to fill up the more general outline of the preceding one.

'I have been,' says our amiable author, 'a 'man of sorrow and affliction from my child-'hood, feeling the want of the Lord, and mourn-'ing after him; separated by him from the love, 'nature, and spirit of this world; and turned in 'spirit towards him, almost ever since I could 'remember.'

The Christian reader, probably, will not revolt at this exordium, or call it a gloomy portrait. He will call to mind the prophetic declaration concerning the Redeemer, "He is a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;" and will by no means forget his Master's own consolatory sentence, "Blessed are they that "mourn; for they shall be comforted."

'In the sense of my lost estate,' thus Penington proceeds, 'I sought after the Lord; I read 'the scriptures; I watched over mine own heart; 'I cried unto the Lord for what I felt the want 'of; I blessed his name in what he mercifully 'did for me, and bestowed on me. Whatever 'I read in the scriptures, as the way of God to

'my understanding, I gave myself to the faith-
'ful practice of: being contented to meet with
'all the reproach, opposition, and several kinds
'of sufferings, which it pleased the Lord to mea-
'sure out to me therein. And I cannot but say
'that the Lord was good unto me, did visit me, did
'teach me, did help me, did testify his accept-
'ance of me many times, to the refreshing and
'joy of my heart before him.'

'But my soul was not satisfied with what I
'met with, nor indeed could be, there being
'further quickenings and pressings in my spirit,
'after a more full, certain, and satisfactory know-
'ledge; even after the sense, sight, and enjoy-
'ment of God, as was testified in the scriptures
'to have been felt and enjoyed in the former
'times: for I saw plainly that there was a stop
'of the streams, and a great falling short of the
'power, life, and glory, which they partook of.
'We had not so the Spirit, nor were so in the
'faith, nor did so walk and live in God, as they
'did. They were come to Mount Sion, and the
'heavenly Jerusalem, &c. which we had hardly
'so much as the literal knowledge or apprehen-
'sion what they were. So that I saw the whole
'course of religion among us was, for the most
'part, but a talk, to what they felt, enjoyed,
'possessed, and lived in.'

'This sense made me sick at heart indeed,
'and set me upon deep crying to God, close
'searching the scriptures, and waiting on God,
'that I might receive the pure sense and under-

'standing of them, from and in the light, and by
'the help of his Spirit. And what the Lord did
'bestow on me in that state, with thankfulness
'I remember before him at this very day: for
'he was then my God, and a pitier and watcher
'over me; though he had not then pleased to
'direct me how to stay my mind upon him.
'And then I was led (indeed I was led, I did not
'run of myself) into a way of separation from
'the worship of the world, into a gathered so-
'ciety: for this both the scripture, and the Spirit
'of God in me gave testimony unto; and what
'we then met with, and what leadings and help
'we then felt, there is a remembrance and testi-
'mony in my heart to this day. But there
'was somewhat wanting, and we mistook our
'way, for whereas we should have pressed for-
'ward into the spirit and power, we ran too
'much outward into the letter and form: and
'though the Lord in many things helped us,
'yet therein he was against us, and brought
'darkness, confusion, and scattering upon us.
'I was sorely broken and darkened, and in this
'darkened state sometimes lay still for a long
'season, secretly mourning, and crying out to
'the Lord, night and day. Sometimes I ran about,
'hearkening after what might appear or break
'forth in others; but never met with any thing
'whereto there was the least answer in my heart,
'save in one people, who had a touch of Truth;
'but I never expressed so much to any of them,
'nor indeed felt them at all able to reach my

'condition. At last, after all my distresses, 'wanderings, and sore travails, I met with some 'writings of this people called Quakers, which 'I cast a slight eye upon and disdained, as fal- 'ling very short of that wisdom, light, life, and 'power which I had been longing for, and 'searching after. I had likewise, some pretty 'distance of time after this, opportunity of 'meeting with some of them; and divers of 'them were by the Lord moved (I know it to 'be so since) to come to me. As I remember, 'at the very first, they reached to the life of God 'in me; which life answered their voice, and 'caused a great love in me to spring to them; 'but still in my reasonings with them, and dis- 'putes alone (in my mind) concerning them, 'I was very far off from owning them as so 'knowing the Lord, or so appearing in his life 'and power, as my condition needed, and as my 'soul waited for. Yea, the more I conversed 'with them, the more I seemed in my under- 'standing and reason to get over them, and to 'trample them under my feet, as a poor, weak, 'silly, contemptible generation, who had some 'smatterings of Truth in them, and some honest 'desires towards God; but very far off from the 'clear and full understanding of his way and 'will. And this was the effect almost of every 'discourse with them: they still reached my 'heart, and I felt them in the secrets of my 'soul; which caused the love in me always to 'continue, yea, sometimes to increase towards

them; but daily my understanding got more and more over them, and therein I daily more and more despised them. After a long time I was invited to hear one of them (as I had been often, they in tender love pitying me, and feeling my want of that which they possessed); and there was an answer in my heart, and I went with fear and trembling, with desires to the Most High who was over all and knew all, that I might not receive any thing for truth which was not of him, nor withstand any thing which was of him; but might bow before the appearance of the Lord my God, and none other. And indeed, when I came, I felt the presence and power of the Most High among them, and words of truth from the Spirit of truth reaching to my heart and conscience, opening my state as in the presence of the Lord. Yea, I did not only feel words and demonstrations from without; but I felt the dead quickened, the Seed raised; insomuch that my heart (in the certainty of light, and clearness of true sense) said, *This is he, this is he, there is no other: this is he whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood; who was always near me, and had often begotten life in my heart; but I knew him not distinctly, nor how to receive him or dwell with him.* And then, in this sense (in the melting and breakings of my spirit) was I given up to the Lord, to become his, both in waiting for the further revealing of his Seed in me, and

to serve him in the life and power of his Seed.'

'Now what I met with after this, in my travails, in my waitings, in my spiritual exercises, is not to be uttered; only in general I may say this, I met with the very strength of hell. The cruel oppressor roared upon me, and made me feel the bitterness of his captivity, while he had any power: yea, the Lord was far from my help, and from the voice of my roaring. I also met with deep subtilties and devices to entangle me in that wisdom, which seemeth able to make wise in the things of God; but indeed is foolishness, and a snare to the soul, bringing it back into captivity, where the enemy's gins prevail. And what I met with outwardly from my own dear father, from my kindred, from my servants, from the people and powers of the world, for no other cause but fearing my God, worshipping him as he hath required of me, and bowing to his Seed, which is his Son, who is to be worshipped by men and angels for evermore, the Lord my God knoweth, before whom my heart and ways are; who preserved me in love to them, in the midst of all I suffered from them, and doth still so preserve me; blessed be his pure and holy name. But some may desire to know what I have at last met with. I answer, *I have met with the Seed.* Understand that word, and thou wilt be satisfied, and inquire no further. I have met with my God;

'I have met with my Saviour; and he hath not
'been present with me without his salvation;
'but I have felt the healings drop upon my
'soul from under his wings. I have met with
'the true knowledge, the knowledge of life,
'the living knowledge, the knowledge which is
'life, and this hath had the true virtue in it,
'which my soul hath rejoiced in, in the presence
'of the Lord. I have met with the Seed's
'Father, and in the Seed I have felt him my
'Father. There I have read his nature, his love,
'his compassions, his tenderness, which have
'melted, overcome, and changed my heart be-
'fore him. I have met with the Seed's faith,
'which hath done and doth that, which the faith
'of man can never do. I have met with the
'true birth, with the birth which is heir of the
'kingdom, and inherits the kingdom. I have
'met with the true spirit of prayer and suppli-
'cation, wherein the Lord is prevailed with, and
'which draws from him whatever the condition
'needs: the soul always looking up to him in
'the will, and in the time and way, which is ac-
'ceptable with him. What shall I say? I have
'met with the true peace, the true righteous-
'ness, the true holiness, the true rest of the
'soul, the everlasting habitation, which the re-
'deemed dwell in: and I know all these to be
'true, in him that is true; and am capable of
'no doubt, dispute, or reasoning in my mind
'about them; it abiding there where it hath re-
'ceived the full assurance and satisfaction. And

'also I know very well and distinctly in spirit 'where the doubts and disputes are, and where 'the certainty and full assurance is; and in the 'tender mercy of the Lord am preserved out of 'the one, and in the other.'

'Now, the Lord knows, these things I do not 'utter in a boasting way; but would rather be 'speaking of my nothingness, my emptiness, 'my weakness, my manifold infirmities, which 'I feel more than ever. The Lord hath broken 'the man's part in me, and I am a worm and 'no man before him. I have no strength to do 'any good or service for him; nay, I cannot 'watch over or preserve myself. I feel daily 'that I keep not alive my own soul; but am 'weaker before men, yea weaker in my spirit, as 'in myself, than ever I have been. But I cannot 'but utter to the praise of my God, and I feel 'his arm stretched out for me; and my weak-'ness, which I feel in myself, is not my loss, 'but advantage before him. And these things 'I write, as having no end at all therein of my 'own, but felt it this morning required of me; 'and so in submission and subjection to my God 'have I given up to do it, leaving the success 'and service of it with him.'

'Aylesbury, 15th 3d Mo. 1667.'*

Though the two preceding papers will serve to show many of the toilsome steps, which were

* In Ellwood's Test. prefixed to Penington's Works, Vol. I. p. xxxv.

trodden by Isaac Penington in pursuit of truth; yet the following will probably be an acceptable, and not an unsuitable addition. It is both descriptive and exhortatory; it is, in its tenour, consistent with the others, yet not tautologous. One occasion of his sorrows, it more fully describes: the tendency of one tenet on a depressed and ingenuous mind, it more particularly displays.

'My heart from my childhood,' says he, 'was 'pointed towards the Lord, whom I feared, and 'longed after, from my tender years; wherein 'I felt, that I could not be satisfied with (nor 'indeed seek after) the things of this perishing 'world, which naturally pass away; but I de-'sired true sense of, and unity with, that which 'abideth for ever. There was somewhat indeed 'then still within me (even the Seed of eter-'nity) which leavened and balanced my spirit 'almost continually; but I knew it not distinct-'ly, so as to turn to it, and give up to it, en-'tirely and understandingly.'

'In this temper of mind I earnestly sought 'after the Lord, applying myself to hear ser-'mons, and read the best books I could meet 'with, but especially the scriptures, which were 'very sweet and savoury to me. Yea, I very 'earnestly desired and pressed after the know-'ledge of the scriptures, but was much afraid 'of receiving men's interpretations of them, or 'of fastening any interpretation upon them my-'self; but waited much, and prayed much, that,

'from the Spirit of the Lord, I m
'the true understanding of them,
'would chiefly endue me with that knowle
'which I might feel sanctifying and saving.'

'And indeed I did sensibly receive of his love,
'of his mercy, and of his grace, which I felt
'still freely to move towards me; and at seasons
'when I was most filled with the sense of my
'own unworthiness, and had least expectations
'of the manifestation of them. But I was ex-
'ceedingly entangled about Election and Repro-
'bation (having drunk in that doctrine, accord-
'ing as it was then held forth by the strictest of
'those that were termed Puritans; and as then
'seemed to be very manifest and positive, from
'Rom ix. &c.), fearing lest, notwithstanding all
'my desires and seekings after the Lord, he might
'in his decree have passed me by; and I felt
'it would be bitter to me to bear his wrath,
'and be separated from his love for evermore:
'yet, if he had so decreed, it would be, and I
'should (notwithstanding these fair beginnings
'and hopes) fall away, and perish at the last.'

'In this great trouble and grief (which was
'much added to by not finding the Spirit of
'God so in me and with me, as I had read and
'believed the former Christians had it), and in
'mourning over and grappling with secret cor-
'ruptions and temptations, I spent many years,
'and fell into great weakness of body; and,
'often casting myself upon my bed, did wring
'my hands and weep bitterly; begging ear-

'nestly of the Lord daily, that I might be pitied
'by him, and helped against my enemies, and
'be made conformable to the image of his Son,
'by his own renewing power.'

'And indeed at last (when my nature was al-
'most spent, and the pit of despair was even
'closing its mouth upon me), mercy sprang,
'and deliverance came, and the Lord my God
'owned me, and sealed his love unto me, and light
'sprang within me: which made not only the
'scriptures, but the very outward creatures glo-
'rious in my eye; so that every thing was sweet
'and pleasant, and lightsome round about me.
'But I soon felt that this estate was too high
'and glorious for me, and I was not able to
'abide in it, it so overcame my natural spirits.
'Wherefore, blessing the name of the Lord for
'his great goodness to me, I prayed unto him
'to take that from me which I was not able to
'bear; and to give me such a proportion of his
'light and presence, as was suitable to my pre-
'sent state, and might fit me for his service.
'Whereupon this was presently removed from
'me; yet a savour remained with me, wherein
'I had sweetness, and comfort, and refreshment
'for a long season.'

'But my mind did not then know how to turn
'to, and dwell with that which gave me the
'savour; nor rightly to read what God did daily
'write in my heart; which sufficiently mani-
'fested itself to be of him, by its living virtue,
'and pure operation upon me.'

'But I, looked upon the scriptures to be my rule, and so would weigh the inward appearances of God to me, by what was outwardly written; and durst not receive any thing from God immediately, as it sprang from the fountain, but only in that mediate way. Herein did I limit the Holy One of Israel, and exceedingly hurt my own soul, as I afterwards felt, and came to understand.'

'Yet the Lord was tender to me, and condescended exceedingly, opening scriptures to me freshly every day, teaching and instructing, warming and comforting my heart thereby. And truly he did help me to pray, and to believe, and to love him and his appearances in any; yea, to love all the sons of men, and all his creatures, with a true love. But that in me which knew not the appearances of the Lord in my spirit, but would limit him to words of scriptures formerly written,—that proceeded yet further, and would be raising a fabrick of knowledge out of the scriptures, and gathering a perfect rule (as I thought) concerning my heart, my words, my ways, my worship; and according to what I thus drank in (after this manner from the scriptures), I practised; and with much seriousness of spirit, and prayer to God, fell a helping to build up an Independent congregation, wherein the savour of life and the presence of God was fresh with me: as I believe there are yet some alive of that congregation can testify.'

'This was my state, when I was smitten, 'broken, and distressed by the Lord, confounded 'in my worship, confounded in my knowledge, 'stripped of all in one day (which it is hard to 'utter), and was matter of amazement to all 'that beheld me. I lay open and naked to all 'that would inquire of me, and strive to search 'out what might be the cause the Lord should 'deal so with me. They would at first be jea-'lous that I had sinned and provoked him so to 'do; but when they had scanned things tho-'roughly, and I had opened my heart nakedly 'to them, I do not remember any one that ever 'retained that sense concerning me. My soul 'remembereth the wormwood and gall, the ex-'ceeding bitterness of that state, and is still 'humbled in me in the remembrance of it before 'the Lord. Oh! how did I wish, with Job, that 'I might come before him, and bowingly plead 'with him; for indeed I had no sense of any guilt 'upon me, but was sick of love towards him, and 'as one violently rent from the bosom of his 'beloved! Oh, how gladly would I have met 'with death! For I was weary all the day long, 'and afraid of the night; 'and weary also of the 'night-season, and afraid of the ensuing day.'

'I remember my grievous and bitter mourn-'ings to the Lord. How often did I say, *O Lord 'why hast thou forsaken me? Why hast thou 'broken me to pieces? I had no delight but thee, 'no desire after any but thee. My heart was bent 'wholly to serve thee, and thou hast even fitted me*

(as appeared to my sense) *by many deep exercises and experiences for thy service. Why dost thou make me thus miserable?* Sometimes I would cast mine eye upon a scripture, and my heart would even melt within me. At other times I would desire to pray to my God as I had formerly done; but I found I knew him not, and I could not tell how to pray, or in any wise to come near him, as I had formerly done. In this condition I wandered up and down from mountain to hill, from one sort to another, with a cry in my spirit, *Can ye tell news of my beloved? Where doth he dwell? Where doth he appear?* But their voices were still strange to me; and I should retire sad and oppressed, and bowed down in spirit, from them.'

'Now surely, all serious, sober, sensible people will be ready to inquire how I came satisfyingly to know the Lord at length; or whether I do yet certainly know him, and am yet truly satisfied.'

'Yes indeed, I am satisfied at my very heart. Truly my heart is united to him whom I longed after, in an everlasting covenant of pure life and peace.'

'Well then, how came this about? will some say. Why, thus. The Lord opened my spirit. The Lord gave me the certain and sensible feeling of the pure Seed, which had been with me from the beginning. The Lord caused his holy power to fall upon me, and gave me such an inward demonstration and feeling of the Seed

of life, that I cried out in my spirit, *This is he, this is he, there is not another, there never was another. He was always near me, though I knew him not* (not so sensibly, not so distinctly, as now he was revealed in me, and to me by the Father). *O that I might now be joined to him, and he alone might live in me!* And so, in the willingness which God had wrought in me (in this day of his power to my soul), I gave up to be instructed, exercised, and led by him, in the waiting for and feeling of his holy Seed, that all might be wrought out of me which could not live with the Seed, but would be hindering the dwelling and reigning of the Seed in me, while it remained and had power. And so I have gone through a sore travail, and fight of afflictions and temptations of many kinds; wherein the Lord hath been merciful to me, in helping me, and preserving the spark of life in me, in the midst of many things which had befallen me, whose nature tended to quench and extinguish it.'

'Now thus having met with the true way, and walked with the Lord therein, wherein daily certainty, yea, and full assurance of faith and of understanding is at length obtained, I cannot be silent (true love and pure life stirring in me and moving me), but am necessitated to testify of it to others; and this is it,—To retire inwardly, and wait to feel somewhat of the Lord, somewhat of his holy Spirit and power, discovering, and drawing from that which is

' contrary to him, and into his holy nature and ' heavenly image. And then, as the mind is ' joined to this, somewhat is received, some true ' life, some true light, some true discerning; ' which the creature not exceeding (but abiding ' in the measure of) is safe. But it is easy err- ' ing from this, but hard abiding with it, and ' not going before its leadings. But he that ' feels life, and begins in life, doth he not begin ' safely? And he that waits and fears, and goes ' on no further than his captain goes before him, ' doth he not proceed safely? Yea, very safely, ' even till he cometh to be so settled and esta- ' blished in the virtue, demonstration, and power ' of Truth, as nothing can prevail to shake him.'

' Now, blessed be the Lord, there are many at ' this day who can truly and faithfully witness, ' that they have been brought by the Lord to ' this state. And thus have we learned of the ' Lord; to wit, not by the high, striving, aspiring ' mind; but by lying low, and being contented ' with a little. If but a crumb of bread (yet if ' bread), if but a drop of water (yet if water), ' we have been contented with it, and also thank- ' ful to the Lord for it: nor by thoughtfulness, ' and wise searching and deep considering with ' our own wisdom and reason have we obtained ' it; but in the still, meek, and humble wait- ' ing, have we found that brought into the ' death, which is not to know the mysteries of ' God's kingdom; and that which is to live, ' made alive, and increase in life.'

'Therefore he that would truly know the 'Lord, let him take heed of his own reason and 'understanding. I tried this way very far, for 'I considered most seriously and uprightly. I 'prayed, I read the scriptures, I earnestly de-'sired to understand and find out whether that 'which this people, called Quakers, testified of, 'was the only way and truth of God (as they 'seemed to me but to pretend); but for all this, 'prejudices multiplied upon me, and strong rea-'sonings against them, which appeared to me 'as unanswerable. But when the Lord revealed 'his Seed in me, and touched my heart there-'with, which administered true life and virtue 'to me, I presently felt them there the children 'of the Most High, and so grown up in his life, 'power, and holy dominion (as the inward eye, 'being opened by the Lord, sees), as drew forth 'from me great reverence of heart, and praises 'to the Lord, who had so appeared among men 'in these latter days.'

'And as God draweth, in any respect, oh! 'give up in faithfulness to him. Despise the 'shame, take up the cross: for indeed it is a 'way which is very cross to man, and which his 'wisdom will exceedingly be ashamed of; but 'that must be denied and turned from, and the 'secret, sensible drawings of God's Spirit waited 'for and given up to. Mind, people, He that 'will come into the new covenant, must come 'into the obedience of it. The light of life, 'which God hath hid in the heart, is the cove-

'nant; and from this covenant God doth not 'give knowledge, to satisfy the vast, aspiring, 'comprehending wisdom of man; but living 'knowledge, to feed that which is quickened by 'him; which knowledge is given in the obedi-'ence, and is very sweet and precious to the 'state of him that knows how to feed upon it. 'Yea, truly, this is of a very excellent, pure, 'precious nature; and a little of it weighs down 'that great, vast knowledge in the comprehend-'ing part, which the man's spirit and nature so 'much prizeth, and, presseth after.'

'And truly, friends, I witness at this day a 'great difference between the sweetness of com-'prehending the knowledge of things, as ex-'pressed in the scriptures (this I fed much on 'formerly); and tasting the hidden life, the hid-'den manna in the heart (which is my food 'now, blessed for ever be the Lord my God 'and Saviour). Oh! that others had a true, 'certain and sensible taste of the life, virtue, 'and goodness of the Lord, as it is revealed 'there! Surely it could not but kindle the true 'hunger; and inflame the true thirst; which 'can never be satisfied but by the true bread, 'and by water from the living fountain. This 'the Lord (in the tenderness of his love, and in 'the riches of his grace and mercy) hath brought 'us to; and this we earnestly and uprightly de-'sire and endeavour, that others may be brought 'to also; that they may rightly (in the true 'silence of the flesh, and in the pure stillness of

' spirit) wait for, and in the Lord's due time ' receive, that which answers the desire of the ' awakened mind and soul, and satisfies it with ' the true, precious substance for evermore. ' Amen.'*

More to the import of the three preceding pieces may be seen in the preface to Isaac Penington's tract entitled ' Babylon the Great ' described,' published 1659, and in another tract the following year respecting the New England persecution, both of which are reprinted in his works. It may not be advisable to insert them here at length; yet an extract from the latter will sum up the evidence already produced, and show him in an amiable view.

' At first acquaintance with this rejected peo- ' ple, that which was eternal of God in me open- ' ed, and I did immediately in my spirit own ' them as children of my Father, truly begotten ' of his life by his own Spirit. But the wise, ' reasoning part presently rose up, contending ' against their uncouth way of appearance; and ' in that I did disown them, and continued a ' stranger to them, and a reasoner against them, ' for above twelve months; and by weighing ' and considering things in that part, was still ' further and further off from discerning their ' leadings by the life and Spirit of God into ' those things. But at length it pleased the ' Lord to draw out his sword against that part

* Penington's Works, Vol. II. p. 49.

'in me, turning the wisdom and strength thereof 'backward; and to open that eye in me again, 'wherewith he had given me to see the things of 'his kingdom in some measure from a child. 'And then I saw and felt them grown in that 'life and Spirit, which I, through the treachery 'of the fleshly-wise part, had been estranged to, 'and had adulterated from. And now, what bit-'ter days of mourning and lamentation (even for 'some years since) I have had over this, the 'Lord alone fully knows. Oh! I have known 'it to be a bitter thing to follow this wisdom, 'in understanding of scriptures, in remember-'ing of scriptures, in remembering of experi-'ences, and in many more inward ways of work-'ings, that many cannot bear to hear.'

'The Lord hath judged me for that, and I 'have borne the burden and condemnation of 'that, which many at this day wear as their 'crown. And now, what am I at length? A 'poor worm! Whom can I warn effectually? 'Whom can I help? Whom can I stop from run-'ning into the pit? But though I am nothing, 'I must speak, for the Lord draweth and moveth 'me; and how unserviceable soever my pity 'be, yet my bowels cannot but roll, both to-'wards those that are in misery, and those that 'are running into misery.'*

And here we may pause; and, having, by the medium of his own declaration, surveyed the

* Vol. 1. p. ccl vi.

state of Isaac Penington's mind, we scarcely need hesitate to acknowledge that he had attained in no small degree to the possession of the grand qualifications of a Christian. "Now "abideth Faith, Hope, Love, these three; but "the greatest of these is Love."* Even in his political character, in which men otherwise amiable, are too apt to give way to animosity and rancour; even in this, and at a time when he had not so deeply penetrated the mysteries of the Christian religion, we have seen him invested with its spirit of forbearance and good-will.

* I have sometimes wondered why the same word (ἀγάπη) which in the apostle John's writings is by our translators rendered *love*, should in Paul's be translated *charity*. It doubtless conveys to some readers the idea of almsgiving. Let any one read the 13th chap. of 1st to Corinthians, substituting the word *love* for *charity*, and he will probably see the superior aptness of the term; and be almost ready to think that Love is not only the perfection of the Law, but of the Gospel also.

CHAP. II.

Account of Mary Penington—her desire to be able to perform true prayer—her written, and extemporaneous prayer—marries Col. Springett—her husband's death—refuses to have her child sprinkled—seeks solitude, for prayer—yet attends diversions—a dream—her habit of trust—cannot pray—another remarkable dream—her marriage to I. Penington, and its motives—some previous knowledge of Friends—her state of mind when Curtis and Simpson visited the family—her conflicts—her joy at the first meeting held in I. Penington's house—further account of her spiritual state.

BEFORE we proceed to investigate the further operation of religion on the conduct of Isaac Penington, by collecting the few and scattered accounts of the scenes in which he was engaged, scenes, for the greater part, of suffering, it may be desirable to trace a few of the steps by which his faithful companion arrived at her qualifications to be his help-meet.

Mary Penington also had been religiously inclined from her childhood, and had been brought

up in a family in which the forms, at least, of religion were observed with great strictness. While yet a child she was one day much struck with hearing a sermon read, on the text, "Pray "continually." The writer, among other benefits of prayer, had observed that it was an exercise in which the saints were distinguished from the world; for, though the world could in many things hypocritically imitate them, yet in prayer it could not. This forcibly wrought on her mind, for she knew that the printed prayers which she used, were such as the world also could use; and she therefore, with sorrow, concluded herself to be yet unacquainted with true prayer. When the reader had finished, and she was left alone in the room, she threw herself on the bed, crying out aloud, Lord, what is prayer? At this time, she had not long learned to write, and could scarcely join her letters; but, having heard that some persons wrote prayers for their own use, she penned one to serve her as a morning supplication. The subject of it was, that 'as the Lord 'had commanded the Israelites to offer up a 'morning sacrifice, so she offered the sacrifice 'of prayer, and desired preservation for the 'day.' She rested a while in this practice, and wrote two other prayers; but doubt crept in here also; and she began to think true prayer was extemporaneous. Extemporaneous prayer, therefore, she attempted, but found that she could not always pray. Sometimes she kneeled long, but could not utter a word. At length one day, she

heard of the sentence* of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, three eminent sufferers in the persecution under Archbishop Laud, in the reign of Charles I. The sad relation of the lot of these men sunk deep into her mind, and cries were raised in her for them and all the innocent people in the nation. She went into a private room, and shutting the door, poured out her soul to the Lord (they are her own words) in a vehement manner for a considerable time, being wonderfully melted. In this, she felt ease,

* This seems to have been the second sentence on those persecuted men, in the year 1637. Prynne, for writing a book entitled *Histriomastix* against Plays, Masques, Dancing, &c. was condemned by the Court of Star-Chamber to be degraded from his profession of the law, to be pilloried at Westminster and in Cheapside, at each place to lose an ear, to be fined £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Bastwick, a physician, for writing a book called *Elenchus religionis papisticæ*, with an appendix called *Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium*, was degraded, excommunicated, fined £1000, and imprisoned till he should recant. Burton, a parish priest in London, having published two sermons against the late innovations, was committed a close prisoner to the *Gatehouse*. In 1637, all three were again cited to the *Star-Chamber* for writing as was alleged, in prison, seditious, schismatical, and libellous books. They were then condemned to have their ears cut off, each fined £5000, and each ordered to perpetual imprisonment. Prynne had the additional sentence of stigmatizing on both cheeks, and the court took care he should again suffer the pain of amputation, by ordering the *remainder of his stumps* to be cut off. Abp. Laud was present at passing the sentence. Neal, Hist. Purit. Vol. 2.

peace, and acceptance, knowing assuredly that this was true prayer.

Soon after this she entirely refused to join in the common prayer read in the family, or to kneel in the place of public worship; but went on foot two or three miles, regardless of weather, to hear a puritan minister, who prayed extempore. About this time also she avoided vain company, declined the use of cards and similar amusements, was strict in observance of what was termed the Sabbath, and would not even eat on that day such things as took up much time to prepare.

As she advanced in life she rejected several offers of marriage, on account of the want of religion which she perceived in her suitors; and at length married a young man of respectable family, named Springett; intent, like herself, to avoid superstition in religion, and one whom long acquaintance had proved worthy of her acceptance. She did not live long with her first husband, who, being a colonel of foot in the parliament-army, died of a calenture at his quarters near Arundel. Mary Springett was with child, at the time of her husband's death, of her daughter Gulielma Maria, afterwards the wife of William Penn, and on her birth the usual ceremony of what passes for baptism, appeared so objectionable, that she refused to suffer the infant to be sprinkled: which brought some reproach on her, and made her as a by-word among people of her own rank. Her relations

also and acquaintance sent such as were accounted able ministers, and such as she had formerly delighted to hear, to persuade her to comply; but they sent in vain.

Thus she stood her ground against that which appeared formal; but not being herself fully settled in religious opinion, she swerved from simplicity, roved from one notion to another, and finding no assurance in any, at length gave over her religious exercises. 'Indeed,' she says of herself, 'I left them not in a loose mind, as 'some judged; for had I found that I did per- 'form what the Lord required of me—I should 'gladly have continued in them, being zealously 'affected this way, in fasting often, in private 'prayer very frequent, rarely less than three 'times a day, many times oftener, a daily hearer 'of sermons upon all occasions, both lectures, 'fasts, and thanksgivings. Most of the day was 'spent in reading the scriptures, or in praying, 'hearing, and such like,—and so great was my 'delight in these things, that while I believed it 'my duty, I have many times in the day sought 'solitary places to pray in, as gardens, fields, 'and out-houses, when I could not be private in 'the house,—for so vehement was my spirit, 'that I could not forbear being loud and ear- 'nest in pouring out my soul.'

Thus, after her long research, and zeal in whatsoever the professors of the day recommended, she did not find in herself that real change of heart which she aspired after, nor ac-

ceptance with the Lord. She therefore began to conclude, that although the Lord and his Truth were unchangeable, yet it was not in her day made known to any on the earth. And for some time she gave no attention to religion; but devoted herself to the diversions and pleasures of the world, both in public and private. But in the midst of such pursuits her heart was still sad; and she would often retire from all company for several days together. Indeed her mind was not captivated by the dissipating amusements of the age; for she would often say within herself, of the career in which she had engaged, 'What is all this to me? I could easily 'leave those things. They have not my heart. 'My delight is not in them. I had rather serve 'the Lord, if indeed I could feel that which per-'formeth acceptably to him.' About this time, having retired into the country with her daughter and a maid, she went to bed one night very sad and disconsolate, through her deep conflict of mind respecting religion. She dreamed that she saw a book of hieroglyphics of religious things, or of a state that was to come in the church; but she thought that she had no delight in them, though they were magnified by those who showed them; but she turned from them greatly oppressed, and going apart into a yard sorrowing, and lifting up her eyes to heaven, she cried out, Lord, suffer me no more to fall into false ways, but show me thy Truth. Immediately the sky seemed to open, and bright light, like fire, to fall

on her hand. She cried aloud and awoke, and the maid coming at her cries, found her trembling.

Notwithstanding the state of uncertainty and sorrow, she so long experienced (Oh! saith my soul, that the *actual* uncertainty which thousands are in, about the welfare of their souls, might induce them to be sorrowful also), she had learned in outward matters to be careful for nothing, but in all things, as saith the apostle, to let her requests be made known to God. And she frequently received help; and a confidence in the Lord was given to her in that day, when she durst not own herself to have any religion that could be called true. 'If,' says she, 'I was 'to take a servant, or remove to any place, or 'do any thing that concerned my outward affairs, I never contrived, but retired to see what 'the day would bring forth, and waited in a firm 'belief that such things would be offered me as 'I should embrace: so that I was not anxious 'about any worldly accommodation; but as 'things presented, I closed in with them, if I 'felt my heart answer: but in things of everlasting concern continually hurried and dissatisfied.' For some years she durst not kneel down, or go to prayer, because she thought she could not call God Father, in truth, and she feared to mock him by formal devotion. Sometimes she was melted into tenderness and tears, but not knowing whence it came, and being

ready to condemn all appearances of religion, she concluded herself under planetary influence, and that one planet made her tender, and another hardened her. She ventured not to suppose that she felt any influence of God's Spirit on her heart; although so great was her thirst after it, that she seemed to herself to resemble the parched heath, or the hunted hart panting for water. In this state another remarkable dream was her lot, a part of which in her own words, is as follows: 'I one night dreamt that as I 'was sitting in a room alone, retired and sad, 'I heard a very loud noise, some screaming, 'yelling, and roaring in a doleful manner; 'some casting up their caps, and hallooing in 'way of triumph and joy. And as I listened 'to learn what was the cause, I thought that 'Christ was come, and that this was the different 'state of the people at his coming: some in 'joy, and some in extreme sorrow and amaze-'ment. Thus I waited in much dread, for un-'certainty about this thing. At last I found 'that neither the joy nor the sorrow of this con-'fused multitude did arise from a certain know-'ledge of his coming, but it was the effect of a 'false rumour. So I abode in the room solitary, 'for I found I was not to join with either, but 'to wait in the stillness, and not to go forth to 'inquire concerning the tumult of the multi-'tude. While I sat thus, all was whist, and it 'was manifest to me that they were mistaken.

'So I remained cool and low in my mind, until 'one came and said in a low voice, Christ is come 'indeed, and is in the next room, and with 'the Lamb's wife. At which my heart secretly 'leaped within me, and I was in haste to go, 'and express my love to him, and joy at his 'coming. But I was rebuked for my haste, and 'instructed to be sober, and come cool and 'softly into the next room: which I did. Then 'I came into a spacious hall, but stood at the 'bottom, trembling: for though I was joyed at 'the thing, yet I durst not go near him; for it 'was said in me, Stay, and see whether he owns 'thee, and takes thee to be such as thou takest 'thyself to be. Christ stood at the upper end 'of the hall in the appearance of a fresh, lovely 'youth, clad in gray cloth, very neat and plain '(at this time, I had not heard of a Quaker, or 'their garb). He was of a sweet, affable, court-'eous carriage; and I saw him embrace seve-'ral poor, old, simple persons, whose appear-'ance was very contemptible and mean, with-'out wisdom or beauty: from which I judged 'that his wisdom and discretion was great, that 'he can, thought I, behold the hidden worth of 'these people, who to me appeared so unlovely 'and simple. At last he beckoned to me to 'come to him, at which I was very glad, but 'went lowly, and trembling, in much solidity, 'and weightiness of spirit. Then I beheld a 'beautiful young virgin, slender, modest, and 'grave, in plain apparel, becoming and grace-

'ful, and her image was fully answering his, 'as a brother and sister.'*

Before the termination of the state of conflict, which she had sustained so long, Mary Springett was married to Isaac Penington. Her regard was attracted to him, because, as has been hinted, she perceived that he had discovered the deceit of all mere notions; that, like herself, he refused to be comforted by any form of religion, and was unwilling to rest satisfied short of a heart-felt experience of the power. In this concern they united, and on her part there was a sincere desire to be serviceable to him, in his disconsolate condition. Thus they lived together, until the visit from the stranger already mentioned. But previously to this, Mary Penington had heard of a people which had lately arisen in the North, and were called Quakers. Consistently, however, with her plan of doubting all professions, she resolved not to inquire after them or their principles; so that it was a year or more before she knew any thing of them, except that they used the singular number in speaking to a single person. She had also seen a book of George Fox written in the plain stile, which she accounted ridiculous; and she had likewise heard some false

* Three things are remarkable in this dream, and particularly so in one of a person whose future allotment was with Friends. The stillness proper for coming to Christ, his simplicity of appearance, and the strict resemblance which the virgin (the Church) bore to him.

and calumnious reports. She held this people therefore in contempt; nevertheless she often had a secret desire to be with them when they prayed. The reader may recollect that to be acquainted with the genuine spirit of prayer, was one of her earliest desires; and she now thought that if she were present in the time of prayer, she could feel whether they were of the Lord or not. But she forbore to gratify this inclination, because she knew not how to attend their meetings undiscovered; and if it should be known, she feared that it would be reported, she was inclined to their way, while she herself had no such intention.

It has been already mentioned that Mary Penington has left some account of the particulars, so far at least as they affected herself, of the conference with Thomas Curtis and William Simpson. Her own words will best delineate the situation of her mind at that juncture. 'My mind,' says she, 'was somewhat af-
'fected with the man who had discoursed' [with] 'us the night before (that is, the man who had spoken to her husband and herself over the park-pales): for though I judged him weak
'in managing what he pretended to, yet he
'mentioned many weighty scriptures, which
'dwelt with me, proving from them many
'things to be right, which I was not in the
'practice of; and others to be wrong, which I
'was practising; and indeed it made me very se-
'rious, and quite disposed to hear with attention

'what these men' (Curtis and Simpson) 'should 'say. Their weighty and solid carriage brought 'a dread over me, for they came in the autho- 'rity and power of the Lord: insomuch that all 'that were in the room were sensible of the 'Lord's power manifested in them. Thomas 'Curtis mentioned this scripture, which at once 'stopped all my inquiries and objections. "He "that doeth my will shall know of my doctrine "whether it be of God."* It immediately arose 'in my mind, If I will know whether this is the 'truth which they have spoken, I must do what- 'soever is manifested to be the will of God. 'And what was contrary to the Lord in me was 'clearly set before me, and I saw that it must 'be removed, before I could be capable of 'judging rightly of their principles. This 'wrought much in me to obey what I knew was 'my present business. I now found that my 'vain inclinations and propensities were much 'stronger than I imagined, and that those things 'which I thought I had treated with indiffe- 'rence, had yet great power over me. Terrible 'was the day of the Lord against all my vain 'and evil imaginations. This made me con- 'tinually cry out and mourn, both day and 'night; and if I did cease a little, then I was, 'on the other hand, distressed with fears, lest I

* This is not correctly quoted. "My doctrine is not "mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, "he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or "*whether* I speak of myself." John vii. 16, 17.

'should be again reconciled to those things 'which I felt the judgment of God was upon, 'and which I had a detestation of. Then I cried 'to the Lord that I might not be left in a quiet 'and secure state, till all the evil that lodged in 'my heart was wrought out. Many times hath 'this scripture been revived in my remem-'brance, "Ye will not come to me, that ye "might have life." Then was the sense of my 'own unwillingness to bear the cross of Christ 'so strongly impressed on my mind, that I was 'ready to say, It is true I am undone if I come 'not unto thee; but I will not come, for if I 'do, I must leave that which cleaveth close to 'me, and I cannot part with it.'——'I clearly 'saw my unwillingness to forsake my beloved 'lusts that I might come unto him for life; but 'still upon every painful conflict this was in 'my mind, That although such severe discipline 'seemed more than I could bear, yet that the 'wrath of God was greater, and would be more 'intolerable. I set myself against taking up 'the cross to the language, fashions, customs, 'and honours of the world; for indeed my sta-'tion and connexions in life made it very 'hard; but I never had peace or quiet in my 'mind till the Lord, by the stroke of his judg-'ments, brought me off from all these things, 'which I found the light to manifest deceit and 'bondage in. Yet thus to become a fool, and 'lose my reputation in the world, cost me many 'tears, many wakeful nights and sorrowful days;

'but as I at length gave up, and laid aside my 'reasonings with flesh and blood, I received 'strength, and went to the meetings of those 'people' (Quakers) 'and found them truly of 'God. And my heart honoured them, and 'longed to be one of them: judging it worth 'my cost and pains, if I could witness such a 'change as I saw in them, and such a power 'over their corruptions.'——'As I continued 'to take up the cross, I received strength against 'many things that I had not thought possible to 'deny.'—'But O! the joy that filled my soul 'at the first meeting we had at our then habi-'tation at Chalfont, which I still retain a fresh 'and living sense of, *That the Lord had given 'me to live, and worship him in that Spirit that 'was undoubtedly his own, that I needed not to 'put a stop to my spirit in it; but swim in the life 'and give up my own strength to that which then 'melted and overcame me.* O how long, and 'how earnestly had I desired thus to worship 'God, in full assurance of acceptance, and lift 'up my hands without doubting! That day, 'and in the assembly, my spirit acknowledged 'to the Lord the greatness, and wonderful-'ness of his rich mercy; and I was enabled to 'say, *This is what I have waited for;* though I 'feared I never should have seen that which the 'Lord owned, and witnessed his blessed accept-'ance in assembling together.

'Many are the trials I have met with; but as 'they came by the Lord's ordering, they have

' not hurt me, but rather tended to strengthen
' me in the divine life. Once my mind sus-
' tained great hurt by running out into pre-
' judice against some friends; nevertheless, after
' a time of deep and unknown sorrow, the Lord
' removed this thing, gave me a clearness in his
' sight, and restored me to love and acceptance
' with his beloved ones. And he hath many
' times refreshed my soul in his presence, and
' given me an assurance that I knew that state,
' in which he would never leave me, nor suffer
' me to be drawn from him. And though in-
' firmities beset me; yet my heart cleaveth to the
' Lord, in the bond of everlasting love which
' cannot be broken; and his divine strength
' supports me. Being sensible of my infirmities
' I bemoan myself unto him, feeling that faith
' which gives victory, and keeps me low in a
' sense of my own weakness; yet quickens me
' in a lively hope of seeing satan trodden under
' my feet, by the grace of God, which is all-suf-
' ficient. For I feel and know where my help
' lieth; and when I slip in word or thought, I
' know my Advocate; and, having recourse to
' him, feel pardon and healing: going on to
' overcome, watching against that which easily
' besets me. And I do believe the enemy can-
' not prevail over me; although he is suffered
' to prove me, that I might keep continually on
' the watch, and place my whole dependence on
' the Lord, who only can make war with the dra-
' gon. And by this discovery of my own weak-

'ness, I am also taught to be tender of the 'tempted. Sweet is this state, though low: for 'in it I receive my daily bread, which is given 'of the Lord; for I cannot live to him, but as 'he breatheth the breath of life upon me every 'moment.'

CHAP. III.

Reproaches and insults bestowed on I. and M. Penington—extract of a letter to his father—a visit from the family of Ellwood—the alteration in that of I. P.—its effects—a second visit at which the younger Ellwood is convinced—M. Penington pleads for him with his father, and takes him to Chalfont. First imprisonment of Isaac Penington—his letter from prison to T. Ellwood—the manner of his confinement—his employment—his piece 'Concerning the Magistrate's protection of the innocent'—release—apprehended again but not imprisoned—is the means of introducing Ellwood, as reader, to Milton—engages him as tutor to his children—some extracts from his writings—second imprisonment—third imprisonment, having been taken into custody whilst attending the burial of a friend—his cheerfulness in prison—release—fourth imprisonment—plague in the gaol—released—soon imprisoned a fifth time—his letter to the earl of Bridgewater—his health impaired—his release—letter to a friend—to George Fox—to Friends of Amersham.

ON the change thus wrought in the outward demeanour, as well as in the inward principles, of this pious pair, they had to endure many

cruel reproaches from their relations, acquaintance, neighbours, and even from their servants. They became, to use the strong phrase of scripture, "a wagging of the head," and were accounted as fools, mad, or bewitched. They were even stoned and abused, in towns whither they went to attend meetings: and this too, at a time when the nation was enjoying (or rather rioting in) that liberty of conscience which had been so much restrained in the reign of Charles I. and by the power of his persecuting prelates.

The few particulars of the domestic economy of Isaac Penington, and of his sufferings on account of his new profession, not obtained from the manuscript of his wife, from which the sketch of her conversion has been drawn, are chiefly to be found in the journal of Thomas Ellwood (a work remarkable for its lively narration, which almost depicts as well as describes); and in the testimony of the same friend to the memory of Penington, prefixed to the collection of his works. There is, however, in a manuscript collection of the letters of Isaac Penington, taken from a larger collection copied out by his son, one written not far from the time of his joining with the Society of Friends, namely, in the year 1658, and addressed to the alderman his father. From this I propose to make a copious extract, seeing so far as it shows the kind of opposition, which he met with, from a parent whom he appears to have tenderly loved, it may be considered as a part of his history.

'Ah! dear father,

'Why dost thou so often give me occasion of 'mourning before the Lord, of hard and un-'righteous charges from thee? How often have 'I solemnly professed that there never was any 'desire in me, nor endeavours used by me, to 'draw my father into *this way?* which my father 'will not equally consider; but will have his 'own apprehension go for granted! All that 'is in my soul is this, that my father might 'have the true knowledge of Christ, and not 'set up another thing in the stead of it'——he amplifies this wish, which I abbreviate——'My 'father lays down three reasons why he cannot 'believe this *way* to be of God.

'1. *God's way is a way of love, peace, and 'unity.*'

'Answer. If my father had that eye which 'can see the things of God, and did apply him-'self to look therewith, he might see that 'peace, that love, that unity, among this people, 'which other men do but talk of; but if he 'take things by the report of the enemies both 'to God and them, he shall be sure to hear and 'believe bad enough. They have no war with 'any thing but unrighteousness; and with that 'they cannot have peace, no, not in their 'dearest relations. They love the souls of their 'enemies, and think no pains or hazard too 'great for the saving of them. Being per-'secuted, they bless; being reviled, they en-'treat, and pray for their persecutors. They

'are at unity with whatever is of God; but with 'the seed of the serpent, they cannot be at 'unity——for the spirit of the scribes and pha- 'risees is now in the world; and the spirit of 'Christ and his apostles is also in the world; and 'they cannot but fight, each with their [its] 'proper weapons: the one with stocks, whips, 'fines, prisons, &c.; the other with the spi- 'ritual armour of Christ. Thus the one of these 'wrestles with flesh and blood, fights with the 'creature, hurts that; the other loves the crea- 'ture, seeks the saving of it, and fights only with 'the power of darkness, which rules the creature.'

'And this peace, this love, this unity, they 'attain, not by their own strivings after it, but 'by receiving it from above. Indeed all our 'religion lies in receiving a gift: without which, 'we are nothing, and can do nothing; and in 'which, nothing is too hard for us.'

'2. *God's way is a way of humility.*'

'Answer. If they had not been broken and 'humbled by God, they could never have en- 'tered into this way: which is that which the 'lofty, fleshly part abhors. Nor is this a volun- 'tary humility; but an humility which crosseth 'and breaketh the will all the day long.'

'3. *That God is a God of order, not of confu- 'sion.*'

'Answer. Blessed be the Lord, who hath re- 'covered some of the true churches' order for 'us; and delivered out of the confusion of anti- 'christ. We know order in the light, order in

'the Spirit, order in Christ, the truth; but that 'which man in his wisdom, calls order, is but 'antichrist's order, which, with God, is con-'fusion. To have man's spirit speak and God's 'Spirit stopt, this is the order of all the anti-'christian congregations and churches; but to 'have man's spirit stopt and God's Spirit speak, 'this is the order of Christ's church; and this 'order we know, and rejoice in.'

'My father doth not believe *that Mr. Gurden* '(as the world calls him), *or any other godly* '*man, doth persecute them for their consciences.*'

'Answer. I know no godly man can persecute. 'The lamb never did worry the wolf. But the 'grossest persons [qu. if not originally *persecu-*'*tors*] will not acknowledge that they persecute 'for conscience; but accuse those whom they 'persecute, for evil-doers, and say they suffer as 'evil-doers. Cannot my father see the narrow-'ness of this covering?——Would the Scribes, 'and Pharisees, and zealous among the Jews, 'confess that they put Christ and Stephen to 'death, for conscience?——The eye of that spi-'rit is as blind now, as it was then: it cannot see 'its own deceit.'

'The last part of the letter consists of very 'harsh and unrighteous charges, mixed with bit-'ter expressions, which I shall pass over—only 'I confess it is somewhat hard *to one part of me,* 'that my own father should deal thus with me.'

'About having comfort in me, and wishing 'me more comfort in my son, I must needs say

'this. There is a part which God hath struck 'at, and is destroying, and I have no comfort 'here, and that is able to yield little comfort to 'any one else.——If I were in any formal way 'of religion, I might be a comfort to my father '(for he could be gratified with that, or at least 'bear with that); but because the Lord hath 'seized upon my heart by the power of his 'Truth, and I can bow to none but him (no, 'not to my most dear father), now I am no 'comfort. I am sure I have had little comfort 'all my days, in seeing my father's course of 'religion, which I ever could testify of, as not 'being of God (yea, my late dear mother would 'often bewail it to me); and many times have 'I poured out my soul before the Lord.——Yet 'hear my words, O my father, hear my words. 'O! pierce into the nature of things. Set not 'up shadows instead of the truth. Wait for the 'gift. Receive the true love, the true peace, 'the true unity, the true humility (which lies 'not in the will, but destroys the will), and we 'shall soon know one another, and have comfort 'in one another.'

'14th of 12th Month, 1658.'

Thomas Ellwood relates that he accompanied his father in a visit to Isaac and Mary Penington, soon after the alteration in their manners, when they lived on their own estate at Chalfont. The commencement of the acquaintance had been some years before, when the elder Ellwood

had contracted a friendship with Mary, then called Lady Springett. It had afterwards continued with both her and Isaac Penington; and this visit seems to have been the first, since they had come to reside in Buckinghamshire. The visitors were much surprised, on their arrival, to find that their friends were no longer the courtly persons they had known them to be; but had become Quakers, a people of which the Ellwoods had no knowledge, and a name of which they had before scarcely heard. Their reception was with so strict a gravity, as disappointed their expectations of the pleasant visit that they had promised to themselves; and as there were other visitors in the house, they found no opportunity of endeavouring to gratify their curiosity, by inquiring the occasion of the change. Mary Penington's daughter Gulielma had also embraced the profession of Friends; and Thomas Ellwood, who had been acquainted with her from childhood, and had been her play-fellow at that age, endeavoured to engage her as usual in familiar conversation. But the gravity of her deportment, though her behaviour to him was still courteous, perplexed him, struck a kind of awe upon him, and induced him to retire with some confusion of mind. When dinner was served, it was still what is termed very handsome, and wanted nothing to recommend it but mirth and free conversation; which the visitors could not have with their serious entertainers, nor, because of them, with each other. The

weightiness which was on the spirits, and appeared on the countenances of the friends, kept down the levity of their visitors. Yet Isaac Penington was far, if we may trust his writings, from being a morose man. But levity is hostile to true religion, and the man who has found and purchased the *pearl*, does not want the trifling joy of convivial gaiety.

But the visit, though it turned out so different to expectation, seems to have had the effect of rendering the elder visitor, who was then in the commission of the peace, less prejudiced against Friends, when they came in his way. This he soon after evinced, by releasing a young man, who had been apprehended for speaking a few words to a priest, after the sermon and prayers were ended, at an adjacent village.

It was not very long before the family of Ellwood made another visit at Chalfont. They staid several days, and attended a meeting in the neighbourhood with the family, at which Thomas Ellwood was convinced; but, as it is not the object of this work to write the history of this friend, who has himself done it so ably and agreeably, the visit is chiefly mentioned to show the practice of Isaac Penington: namely, in the long evenings of winter, to call in the servants who were friends, and to sit down together in silence. At least this was done at the period of the visit in question.

It is natural, for there is that which may be called the nature of spiritual things, it is na-

tural for the humble mind which has long endured conflict, and has been brought through it, not by any inherent strength of its own, to pity those who are still sustaining the warfare; and to be greatly desirous of stretching out to them the hand of support. Thus it was with Mary Penington. In a visit at the house of Ellwood she observed the sufferings of the son from the temper of the father, on the occasion of remaining covered before him. She remembered what her husband had suffered from his own father, on a like account; and she also remembered that the relation of it to her friend Ellwood had drawn from him, at a time when he did not expect it to be his own case, a heavy censure on the alderman. She had therefore the opportunity of offering some arguments on behalf of the son, not easily to be evaded by the father. Added to this intercession, she desired, and obtained the father's permission, that young Ellwood should return with her and her husband in the coach, and remain with them a while at Chalfont. Great indeed was the love and the kindness of Isaac and Mary Penington to Thomas Ellwood, while he remained in the family. They were as affectionate parents to him, and as tender nurses in his state of religious childhood. Besides their seasonable counsels, and exemplary conversation, they furnished him with the means of going to other meetings of Friends in the country, when no meeting was held at their house. And Thomas Ellwood asserts that the

time he passed in their company was so well spent, that it not only afforded great satisfaction to his mind, but in good measure turned to his spiritual advantage, in the truth. If the woe be attached to those who offend the little ones that believe; surely the blessing will rest on the heads of such as, through their love to the Lord, are sedulous to comfort them.

Hitherto Isaac Penington had escaped what may be termed judicial suffering. It is possible, the rank his father, the alderman, held in the republic might have its share in procuring him this exemption. But on the restoration of Charles II. such a motive, had it ever existed, would fail to operate; and the frantic insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy men soon gave the spirit of persecution a pretext for harassing the dissenters. The first notice we have of any imprisonment of Isaac Penington is in the Account of Friends' sufferings, in 8vo*; where under the head Buckinghamshire, in the year 1660, it is briefly said that 'Five, namely, Isaac Penington, 'George Salter, Thomas Pewsey, William Sexton, 'and Edward Barton, were apprehended by the 'constables when together, and sent to prison for 'such meeting.' The prison was the county gaol at Aylesbury, in which we find them remaining on the 30th 11th month (answering to that called January) 1660; together with sixty-two others who were chiefly committed for re-

* An Abstract of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers, &c. 1738. Vol. II.

fusing to swear, the oath of allegiance; but who had, for the more part, been taken up when meeting peaceably together. There is a short letter which Isaac Penington wrote during this imprisonment to his young friend Ellwood, then also in confinement at Oxford. It may serve in this place as a specimen of Isaac Penington's mind in the estimating of sufferings, and of the unabated care and affection which he bore to Thomas Ellwood.

'Dear Thomas,

'Great hath been the Lord's goodness to thee, 'in calling thee out of that path of vanity, and 'death, wherein thou wast running toward de- 'struction; to give thee a living name, and 'an inheritance of life, among his people: which 'certainly will be the end of thy faith in him, 'and obedience to him. And let it not be a 'light thing in thine eyes that he now account- 'eth thee worthy to suffer among his choice 'lambs, that he might make thy crown weightier, 'and thine inheritance the fuller. O that that 'eye and heart may be kept open in thee, which 'knoweth the value of these things! and that 'thou mayst be kept close to the feeling of the 'life, that thou mayst be fresh in thy spirit in 'the midst of thy sufferings, and mayst reap the 'benefit of them: finding that pared off there- 'by, which hindereth the bubblings of the ever- 'lasting springs, and maketh unfit for the break- 'ing forth and enjoyment of the pure power!

'This is the brief salutation of my dear love to 'thee, which desireth thy strength and settle- 'ment in the power; and the utter weakening 'of thee, as to thyself. My love is to thee, 'with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of 'the imprisoned Friends.'

'I remain thine in the Truth, to which 'the Lord my God preserve me single 'and faithful.'

'I. P.'

'From Aylesbury Gaol, 14th of 12th month, 1660.'

Isaac Penington remained in prison a part of the following year; and from Ellwood, who having gained his liberty, sometimes visited him in prison, we learn some of the particulars of his treatment there: to estimate which rightly, it should be noticed that he was of a tender habit of body; and his education and manner of life had been those of a gentleman.

Most of the sixty-three prisoners were kept in an old room behind the gaol, which had once been a malt-house, but, says Ellwood, then decayed, and scarcely fit for a dog-house. It was also so insecure, that the prisoners might have escaped; and it was, probably, the confidence placed in them, which procured for them this incommodious lodging. Isaac Penington, whether his lodging were in this or another room, for Ellwood in his testimony, calls it a cold and very incommodious room without a chimney, contracted so

much disease, his durance being in winter, that for several weeks after he was unable to turn himself in his bed. There is something animating in the cheerfulness with which our early friends underwent the rigours of confinement; of which, so far as relates to Isaac Penington, proof will be given as we proceed.

In this confinement he wrote his piece entitled, 'Somewhat spoken to a weighty question, 'concerning the Magistrate's Protection of the 'Innocent: wherein is held forth the Blessing and 'Peace, which nations ought to wait for and em-'brace in the latter days,' 4to, 2 sheets. To undertake an outline of Penington's tracts would be difficult, and yet I am inclined to give some strokes of this, as it first falls in my way to notice. He pleads for an exemption from fighting, for such as are redeemed from the spirit of the world to the spirit of the gospel. 'How 'can he fight with creatures, in whom is love 'and good-will towards those creatures; and 'whose bowels are rolling over them, because of 'their wanderings in the lusts, in the strife, and 'in the wars?' Yet he asserts the duty of the magistrate to protect not only those who are unable through weakness, but such as are forbidden, by motives of gospel good-will, to fight for themselves. He thus obviates the fear some have had, that a nation of peaceful Christians would be invaded and ruined. Such a thing must have a beginning before it can be perfected. Whoever would see this lovely thing

brought forth in the general, must cherish it in the particular. It is not for a nation coming into the gospel-principle to take care beforehand how it shall be preserved; but the gospel will teach a nation, as well as a particular person to trust the Lord, and wait on him for preservation. He condemns not, yea, he appears even to be too liberal in allowing, to the magistrate the use of the sword, in repelling invasion or rebellion; but he declares there is a better state, yea, saith he, it is far better to know the Lord to be the defender, and to wait on him daily, than to be ever so strong and skilful in weapons of war. He instances the case of the Egyptians, of Sennacherib, and of the enemies of Israel, who were restrained, while Israel went to appear before the Lord. 'Will he not,' says Penington, 'defend 'that nation whom he teacheth to leave off war?' The work has several divisions. In one of them he states what the Friends desire with reference to government. 1. Universal liberty for all sorts to worship, as Christ shall open men's eyes to see the truth. 2. That no laws contrary to equity may remain in force, nor any be made but agreeably to equity. There is also a lively address 'To 'such as have felt the power of the endless life 'drawing; and have faithfully followed the 'Leader of the flock of Israel,' &c. This has the date of his prison-house. 'From Aylesbury 'prison in Bucks, where my life breathes for the 'consolation and redemption of God's Israel, 'and for the turning of the captivity of the

'whole creation.' The following prayer concludes the pamphlet.

'O God of love, who knowest the value and 'price of souls, pity thy poor creatures, and 'put a stop to this course of perishing, wherein 'so many multitudes are overtaken, and pass 'down to the pit unawares. O thy bowels, thy 'bowels, thy wonderful bowels! Let them roll 'in thee, and work mightily, and, in the 'strength of thy compassions, bring forth thy 'judgment and thy mercy among the sons of 'men. Build up the tents of Sem; persuade 'Japhet to dwell therein; and let Canaan be-'come a servant. Preserve the feet of thy saints 'for ever. Shut up and silence the wicked 'one in the darkness. Let not his strength or 'subtilty prevail against thee or thine any more; 'but let the fresh power of thy life, and the vir-'tue of thy incomprehensible love, redeem, fill, 'possess, and make glad the heart of thy cre-'ation for ever. Amen. Amen.'

After Isaac Penington was discharged from this imprisonment, he went again to reside at his house at Chalfont, in which there was generally held a meeting twice in the week; but one First-day in four, there was a more general meeting, to which most of the friends of the neighbouring meetings usually resorted.

At one of these general meetings were present, besides the neighbouring friends, a brother of Isaac Penington, named William, who was a merchant of London, and with him a friend of

Essex: there was also the noted George Whitehead of Westmoreland, a man inured to suffering, Thomas Ellwood, and one John Ovy, a baptist-teacher, who had desired to become acquainted with Isaac Penington. These came on the preceding day, and were entertained in his hospitable mansion. The meeting had not long been gathered, and was sitting in great stillness and composure, when a party of horse made its appearance, and the two Peningtons, the Essex friend, George Whitehead, Thomas Ellwood, and three or four more were taken into custody, and immediately conveyed to a magistrate who resided at a considerable distance. The remainder held their meeting without further molestation.

This seems to have been an arrest made conformably to a proclamation forbidding the meetings of dissenters; which had been issued in consequence of the rising of the Fifth-monarchy men; but neither the commander of the soldiers, Matthew Archdale of Wycomb, nor the magistrate, William Boyer of Denham, appear to have been inclined to persecution. One showed his lenity by apprehending so few; the other by finding, or contriving, means for discharging those few. He considered Isaac Penington as but at home in his own house; his brother and the Essex man, as naturally on a visit, and the neighbouring friends as persons whom he could easily send for. These therefore he dismissed; but he could find no such excuse for Ellwood and Whitehead, whom therefore he threatened

to commit; but at length suffered them, as it was too late in the day to send them to Aylesbury, to return home with Isaac Penington, on promise of being ready at his house in the morning: when he took care not to send for them, or molest them any more.

It was not long after this event that Isaac Penington found means to introduce Ellwood as a reader to the poet Milton, who had then lost his sight: which circumstance is probably interesting to the literary world, as Ellwood was the cause of his writing the poem called Paradise regained. This fixed Ellwood in London, by which means in the year 1662, he underwent imprisonment both in Bridewell and Newgate; and after his release became Latin tutor to the children of Isaac Penington. Penington was esteemed curious and skilful in pronunciation, and was very desirous to have his children well grounded in their native tongue. For this purpose he had procured for them a very accurate teacher, who performed his office to the satisfaction of his employer; but as he aimed no higher, and a successor more learned had not yet been found, Isaac Penington, who then being in ill health kept his chamber, requested Ellwood to enter his children in the rudiments of Latin. He complied; but instead of a temporary, became a permanent tutor, and staid near seven years in the family.

From the time of Isaac Penington's release in the early part of 1661, it doth not appear that

he was molested on account of his religious principles, until the year 1664; but though he himself was at liberty, he did not forget his fellow-prisoners whom he had left, or who had since his release been committed to prison, at Aylesbury: for in the 7th month of the year 1661, he went to visit them in their confinement; and whilst with them, wrote the following letter to king Charles II.

'O King,

'The Lord God of heaven and earth is mighty, 'who hath often and greatly shaken this nation 'already: and this I have observed, that the 'seeming settlements, which hitherto have been, 'since the Lord began to shake, have been but 'preparative to a further shaking and dissettling. 'O! happy wert thou, if thou couldst wait for, 'and receive, such a guidance from God, as that 'thy government might be so pure, peaceable, 'and righteous, as it might need no further 'shaking by his hand. God sometime raiseth 'man from a low estate, and exalteth him; but 'if he forget the Lord, and his heart be lifted 'up, he is able to bring him down again. O! 'fear the Lord in the days of thy prosperity, 'and let thy heart be abased before him, and 'sensible of the need of his preservation. In-'deed, it is a hard matter to govern these king-'doms aright, as the state now stands. Thou 'mayst easily err and dash upon the rocks. O that 'the pure eye were open in thee: whereby thou

'mightest see that as thou didst not gain these
'kingdoms by policy or strength; so neither canst
'thou retain them by those means; but only by
'the good pleasure of Him who hath all the
'earth at his dispose! I beseech thee, in that
'tender love I bear to thee, take heed of going
'about to plant what the Lord hath plucked up;
'or of endeavouring to pluck up what the Lord
'hath planted. If thou lookest with man's eye,
'thou canst not see what God is doing in the
'world; and so mayst easily run a course con-
'trary to his will, and eternal counsel: and O
'how hazardous must this needs be to thee!
'The eternal peace of thy soul with God for
'ever, and thy prosperity, depend upon thy
'knowing the counsel of the Lord, and upon
'thy obedience thereunto. O! retire from this
'world's baits, snares, temptations, allurements,
'and vanities; which draw out and defile the
'mind; and retreat inward, that the Lord may
'teach thee his fear, and preserve thee from
'those lusts and desires of the fleshly mind,
'which, being hearkened to and followed, are
'very dangerous to the soul, and may prove
'perilous outwardly also. What shall my love
'say to thee? O that the Lord would speak to
'thee in spirit, and give thee an ear to hear,
'that thou mightest be happy now and for ever!
'Often have my bowels rolled over thee ex-
'ceedingly, even in the day of thy adversity,
'and since thy prosperity. O that thou couldest
'remember God daily, and forget this world!

'Remember the years of thy affliction; and 'make use of the present day with an humble 'heart, and with a broken spirit. O! do nothing 'to provoke the Lord against thee; for surely 'his eye is upon thee, and his heart pondereth 'all thy ways. And bow before him for his 'counsel, that thou mayest not arise against thy 'Maker, as the foregoing powers have done: for 'if he rise up in battle against thee, thou wilt 'no more be able to stand before him than they 'were. Nay, the stronger thou art outwardly 'settled, the greater will the glory of his name 'be in overturning thee. O that thou mightest 'rule under God, and for God! and not with 'that wisdom, and with those self-ends, and in-'terests, which are not of him, and cannot but 'be against him. I cannot but desire thy good; 'yea, the very breathings of my heart to the 'Lord have been often for thee; and upon that 'account singly do I write thus to thee; be-'seeching the Lord, if it be his pleasure, that 'when that work which is necessary to be done 'is finished, thine eyes may be opened to see 'the way of righteous government in the true 'light.

'From one who mourns over the misery 'of mankind, longing for the redemp-'tion of those that go astray, and a true 'lover of thy soul. 'I. P.'

'Aylesbury prison, where I am visiting 'some of my dear friends in God's 'eternal truth, 17th 7th mo. 1661.'

There is to this letter a postscript of nearly the same length. The beginning and the conclusion, with some of the intermediate parts, are as follows:

'Let thy government be like unto God's: 'even a yoke to the unjust, but liberty to the 'just. O, when shall the cry of the innocent 'cease, throughout all thy borders? Restore un- 'to the Lord his dominion over men's consci- 'ences, while it is in the power of thine hand 'to do it.——O! seek after love, meekness, right- 'eousness, tenderness, towards all thy subjects: 'which hath God's blessing with it, and is the 'way to win all their hearts towards thee. And 'do not harden multitudes of them against thee, 'by unnecessary yokes over their consciences: 'which they that do not eye God in all, and in 'lowliness of spirit bow before him, may be apt 'to kick against and strive to throw off.——— '—— And I beseech thee, take heed of this 'world's pleasures and vanities; which steal 'away the heart from God, and make it thick 'and gross, that it cannot hear his voice or know 'his counsel. I am satisfied with what the Lord 'shall do; but it is the earnest desire of my 'heart, that thou mightest be spared in the day 'of God's visitation, which is coming upon this 'nation.——This is my desire for thee, that thy 'heart might be brought into, and kept in, that 'frame which God loves and delights to be pre- 'sent with, and to instruct, and [that] all such 'things might be eschewed and avoided by thee,

'which may prove dangerous to thy soul for 'ever, and to thy government here. For though 'thou beest a great king here, yet, if thou wilt 'attain the blessing and inheritance of eternal 'life, and escape eternal misery and destruc-'tion, thou must take up the cross to thy lusts, 'and walk in the same path of mortification and 'self-denial, which God, who is no respecter of 'persons, hath chalked out to the meanest of 'thy subjects. Hear, O king, turn towards the 'Lord, bow before him in soul and spirit, in 'thy whole conversation. It is a greater honour 'to be a subject to him, than to reign over 'men.'

In the period of liberty which intervened between the first imprisonment of Isaac Penington already related, and the second, an interval of about three years, the number of his writings which issued from the press was thirteen: on various occasions, but all of a religious tendency. The reader is referred to the Review, which forms a large part of this work, for a general catalogue of his writings; but an extract from two of them exhibits so much of Christian patience and Christian good-will, that it is possible he will not be displeased at the introduction of it in this place.

In a short piece, entitled 'Three Queries pro-'pounded to the King and Parliament,' he thus gives his belief respecting the people with whom he was suffering, evinces his patience and cha-

rity, and asserts his faith that the Lord in due time would deliver them.

'1. I am assured in my heart and soul, that this 'despised people called Quakers, is of the Lord's 'begetting, in his own life and nature. Indeed, 'had I not seen the power of God in them, and 'received from the Lord an unquestionable 'testimony concerning them, I had never looked 'towards them; for they were otherwise very 'despisable in my eyes. And this I cannot but 'testify concerning them, that I have found 'the life of God in my owning them; and that 'which God hath begotten in my heart refreshed, 'by the power of life in them. And none but 'the Lord knows the beauty and excellency of 'glory, which he hath hid under this mean ap-'pearance.'

'2. The Lord hath hitherto preserved them 'against great oppositions, and is still able to 'preserve them. Every power hitherto hath 'made nothing of overrunning them; yet they 'have hitherto stood, by the care and tender 'mercy of the Lord; and the several powers 'which have persecuted them, have fallen one 'after another.'

'3. I have had experience myself of the 'Lord's goodness and preservation of *me*, in my 'suffering with them for the testimony of his 'truth; who made my bonds pleasant to me; 'and my noisome prison, enough to have des-'troyed my weakly and tender-educated nature, 'a place of pleasure and delight; where I was

'comforted by my God night and day, and filled 'with prayers for his people: as also with love 'to, and prayers for, those who had been the 'means of outwardly afflicting me and others, 'upon the Lord's account.'

'4. I have no doubt in my heart that the 'Lord will deliver us. The strength of man, 'the resolution of man, is nothing in my eye 'in [to] compare with the Lord. Whom the 'Lord loveth, he can save at his pleasure. Hath 'he begun to break our bonds and deliver us, 'and shall we now distrust him? Are we in a 'worse condition than Israel was, when the sea 'was before them, the mountains on each side, 'and the Egyptians behind pursuing them? He 'indeed that looketh with man's eye, can see no 'ground of hope, nor hardly a possibility of de-'liverance; but, to the eye of faith, it is now 'nearer, than when God began at first to deliver.'

'5. It is the delight of the Lord and his glory, 'to deliver his people, when to the eye of sense 'it seemeth impossible. Then doth the Lord 'delight to stretch forth his arm, when none else 'can help; and then doth it please him to deal 'with the enemies of his truth and people, when 'they are lifted up above the fear of *Him*, and 'are ready to say in their hearts concerning '*them*, "They are now in our hands. Who can "deliver them?"

'Well, were it not in love to you, and in pity, 'in relation to what will certainly befall you, if 'you go on in this course, I could say in the joy

' of my heart, and in the sense of the good-will ' of my God to us, who suffereth these things to ' come to pass, *Go on. Try it out with the Spirit ' of the Lord. Come forth with your laws, and ' prisons, and spoiling of our goods, and banish- ' ment, and death* (if the Lord please) *and see if ' ye can carry it.* For we come not forth against ' you in our own wills, or in any enmity against ' your persons or government, or in any stub- ' bornness, or refractoriness of spirit; but with ' the lamb-like nature, which the Lord our God ' hath begotten in us, which is taught and en- ' abled by him both to do his will, and to suffer ' for his name's sake. And if we cannot thus over- ' come you, even in patience of spirit and in love ' to you, and if the Lord our God please not to ' appear for us, we are content to be overcome ' by you. So the will of the Lord be done, saith ' my soul.'

These queries have not any date. They are placed in Whiting's catalogue between the dates of 1662 and 1663. To the former of these, belongs the piece from which the follow- ing is taken, entitled, ' Some observations upon ' Romans xiv. 20.' It is probable that the ope- ration of grace upon a mind naturally tender and compassionate, produces a display of human nature in its most amiable point of view; and it should be surveyed with due reverence to the power that sometimes permits a combination of so many pleasing qualifications. At the same time it is proper to remember, that tempers,

apparently cast in a rougher mould, have their appropriate place in the church, and in the world; and that all depends upon each exercising his faculties, of whatsoever kind, in subordination to divine wisdom.

'I am,' says this favoured man, 'a lover of 'mankind in general, and have been a deep sufferer with, and traveller [travailer] for, all the 'miserable. None knows the path of my sorrows, or the extent of my bowels, but he that 'made me. It is not natural, or kindly to me, 'to upbraid any man with any kind of wickedness, or ever so justly-deserved misery; but 'my bowels work concerning him towards the 'Spring of eternal power and compassions: even 'as I would be pitied, and represented to the 'Father of mercies in the like condition. Indeed I have been emptied from vessel to vessel, and tossed with multitudes of storms and 'tempests; yet the savour of my life remaineth with me to this day, and the Spirit of my 'God breatheth on my heart: blessed be his 'holy name for ever! And though I walk with 'one sort of people, because my heart saith '(yea, the Spirit of the eternal God hath witnessed unto me, and shown me in that light 'which cannot deceive, and to that eye which 'cannot be deceived) that they are the people 'whom he hath chosen out of all the gatherings '(throughout the earth), from the apostasy, to 'manifest his power in, and his presence among; 'I say, though I have been guided and led by the

'Spirit of the Lord to walk among these; yet 'I am not bounded there, either in the love or 'in the unity of my heart; but I have unity with 'the integrity and zeal for God which is in 'others, of what sort or gathering soever; and 'I have tender bowels for all, even for those 'which hate and persecute that which is my life, 'and hath the love of my heart for ever.'

'Oh, how have I prayed for the lost world! 'For all the souls of mankind, how hath my soul 'bowed in unutterable breathings of spirit be-'fore my God, and could not be silenced; until 'he quieted my spirit in [the] righteousness 'and excellency of his will; and bid me leave 'it to him.'

There are scarcely any particulars of Isaac Penington's second imprisonment: at least few have offered themselves in the search, which the present compilation has occasioned. It is however known, and this little we learn from his friend Ellwood's testimony, which has been before mentioned, that he was taken out of a meeting for worship, and again confined in Aylesbury gaol for nearly the same space of time as at the former commitment: that is upwards of seventeen weeks.

About this time a very severe law had been made, specially against Friends. The penalty, enacted by this law, on assembling for the purpose of religious worship, in a number exceeding four, was, for what was called the first offence, five pounds, for the second ten, and for the

third, banishment: or, in case of non-payment of the fines, three, and six months' imprisonment. Soon after the publication of this law Isaac Penington, with many of the friends of the adjacent country, went to Amersham, to attend the burial of a deceased acquaintance. As they were carrying the body along the street to the burying-ground, they were assaulted by a magistrate, who happened to be passing through the town. Hearing of the interment he put up his horse, procured constables and a multitude of assistants, and came forth, sword in hand, to attack the peaceable bearers. His first command to set down the coffin, though seconded with a blow, not succeeding, he himself threw it to the ground, and forced the attendants to leave it. He then caused the friends to be apprehended, and, having procured another justice to join him, committed ten of them to Aylesbury prison: though they were not even assembled under pretence of worship. It was late on the Seventh-day of the week when the prisoners were intrusted to the constable. Aylesbury was nine miles off, according to Ellwood's account, fourteen as they are now measured; and the constable neither liked so long and so late an expedition, nor that the town should be at the charge of keeping the ten prisoners two nights and the intermediate day. He therefore suffered them all to return home, on their parole to attend him at Amersham on Second-day morning. This confidence in the word of Friends was not an uncom-

mon thing in the time of their persecution. The prisoners, of whom Isaac Penington was one, did not infringe upon that confidence. They came according to the appointment, and were conducted to gaol. Some former prisoners had been ill-treated in this gaol, and closely confined among the felons, because they had refused some fees. The gaoler was not at home when the friends from Amersham were brought in. They forbore therefore to take possession of any rooms until he should return; and they then declared they would have a free prison. In the mean time they had dined on the ground, in the prison-yard, on bread and cheese; in much concern for Isaac Penington, on account of the tenderness of his constitution. He, on the contrary, was so lively in his spirit, and so cheerfully resigned to suffer, that he rather encouraged his fellow-sufferers, than needed encouragement from them: and the gaoler, on his return, fatigued probably with the firmness of the former prisoners, granted lodgings to these on their own terms. The assizes were just at hand; but the judge (Morton) refused to hear their cause, referring it to the justices who had committed them. These therefore fined them six shillings and eightpence each, and, the payment being of course refused, committed them for one month to prison, on the act for banishment. It is to be observed that the justices had power to lessen both the fine, and the term of imprisonment previous to banishment. Lenity might occasion

the first, and a desire to procure speedy banishment, the other. The words of the act were not exceeding five pounds, or three months, and so in the second fining and imprisonment, of ten pounds and six months. At the expiration therefore of one month, Penington and his companions were enlarged; and they gratified the gaoler for his civility.

Isaac Penington appeared now to be at the mercy of the civil power, and it seemed probable that he would not be long in passing through the second step preparatory to banishment. For it was not to be expected that a man who had bought his present profession at the price of so many years of tribulation, would lightly forsake it, or forbear to hold up a public testimony to that which he knew to be truth. But it is very remarkable, that of the many that were imprisoned on the act of banishment, and even of those who were convicted of what was termed the third offence, few were actually sent on ship-board, and the greater part of those never reached the plantations; but way was made for their return, in a remarkable manner. As to Isaac Penington, he seems to have been in some measure protected from the oppression of the civil power, by falling soon after his release into the hands of the military.

A soldier came to his house without any warrant, and informed him that he must go before Philip Palmer one of the deputy lieutenants of the county of Bucks. He meekly attended the

rude soldier; and was sent by Palmer, under a guard of soldiers, to his old quarters at Aylesbury. He was committed by a kind of mittimus or order, importing 'that the gaoler should re-'ceive and keep him in safe custody, during the 'pleasure of the earl of Bridgewater.' At this time it was suspected that the plague was in the gaol. It was the year in which so many thousands fell victims to that dreadful disease, in London. Interest was therefore made with the earl, who was importuned by a person of considerable quality and power in the county, to permit that Isaac Penington should be removed to another house in the town, and there kept a prisoner, until the gaol should be clear of the contagion. But this nobleman seems to have conceived so great a displeasure against the innocent prisoner, that he refused to grant the request: although all the while no other cause of his confinement appeared than the pleasure of the persecutor. At length, however, a prisoner in the gaol died of the plague; on which the gaoler's wife, in the absence of her husband, permitted Penington to be removed to another house, in which he was shut up about six weeks. After this, by the interest of the earl of Ancram, a release was obtained from Palmer; and, after a confinement of nine months, with danger of his life, and for no alleged offence, Isaac Penington was suffered to return home.

But before he had been again settled in his family a month, a party of soldiers from Palmer

came to his house, and, seizing him in bed, conveyed him again to Aylesbury gaol. The earl of Bridgewater was reported to have been the director of this measure. And it must probably have been during this second confinement, that the pious sufferer wrote the following letter to his unrelenting persecutor.

'To the Earl of Bridgewater.

'Friend,

'It is the desire of my heart to walk with 'God in the true fear of his name, and in true 'love and good-will to all men, all my days 'here upon the earth. For this end, I wait upon 'God, night and day, to know his will and to 'receive certain instruction from him concern-'ing what is acceptable in his sight. After he 'hath in any thing made manifest his pleasure, 'I wait upon him for strength to perform it; 'and when he hath wrought it by me, my soul 'blesseth him therefor. If this be a right course, 'I am not to be condemned herein; if it be not, 'and thou knowest better, show me in love, 'meekness, and tenderness; as I would be wil-'ling to make any thing known to thee, for thy 'good, which the Lord hath shown me. But 'this I am fully assured of, that God is higher 'than man; and that his will and laws are to be 'set up and obeyed in the first place: and man's 'only in the second; and in their due subordi-'nation to the will and laws of God.

' Now, friend, apply thyself to do that which
' is right and noble, and that which is truly jus-
' tifiable in God's sight: that thou mayst give a
' comfortable account to him when he shall call
' thee thereunto. That which thou hast done
' to me hath not made me thy enemy; but, in the
' midst of the sense of it, I desire thy welfare,
' and that thou mayst so carry thyself in thy
' place and actions, as that thou mayst neither
' provoke God against thee in this world, nor in
' the world to come. Hast thou not yet afflicted
' me enough without cause? Wouldest thou have
' me bow to thee therein, wherein the Lord hath
' not given me liberty? If I should give thee
' outward titles and honours, might I not do thee
' hurt? O! come down, be low in thy spirit be-
' fore the Lord, honour him in thy heart and
' ways, and wait for the true nobility and honour
' from him. Thou hast but a time to be in the
' world, and then eternity begins; and what
' thou hast sown here, thou must then reap. O
' that thou mightest sow, not to thy own will
' and wisdom, but to God's Spirit; and know his
' guidance, who is only able to lead man aright!
' Indeed, thou shouldest be subject in thy own
' heart, to that which thou art offended at in
' others; even that in the inner parts, which
' testifies for God, and against the thoughts,
' ways, and works of corrupt man; that thou
' mightest feel a principle of life from God, and
' good fruit brought forth from that principle
' to him; and that the evil nature, with the evil

'works thereof, might be cut down in thee; 'that thy soul may escape the wrath and misery 'which attends the works and workers of ini- 'quity. I have sent thee this inclosed in love. 'Read it in fear and humility, lifting up thy 'heart to the Lord, who giveth understanding, 'that it may be a blessing to thee: for in true 'love was it writ, and is of an healing and guid- 'ing nature. I have formerly writ to thee, but 'my way hath been so barred up, that I have 'not found access easy; and how or whether this 'will come to thy hand I know not. But this 'I truly say to thee, I have felt the Lamb's 'nature under my sufferings from thee, where- 'unto I have given thee no provocation, nei- 'ther for the beginning nor continuance of 'them; and, if thou canst, bring that thing to 'the trial of the witness of God in thy heart, 'that will deal truly with thee, blaming what 'God blames, and justifying what he justifieth. 'And, though the Lord beholdeth, and will 'plead the cause of his innocent ones (who the 'more helpless they are, the more they are con- 'sidered and tendered by him), yet I do not 'desire that thou shouldest suffer, either from 'God or man, on my account, but that thou 'mightest be guided to, and preserved in that 'which will be sweet rest, peace, and safety, 'to all that are sheltered by it, in the troublous 'and stormy hour, in which the Lord will dis- 'tress man, and make him feel his sin and 'misery.

'This is the sum of what I have at present to 'say, who have writ this, not for any by-end, 'but in the stirrings of true love towards thee, 'and from a true desire that thou mightest feel 'the power of God forming thy heart aright, 'and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness 'in thee: that thou mightest be made by him 'of the seed of the blessed, and inherit the bles-'sing, and find the earthly nature consumed, 'and brought to nought in thee; to which is 'the curse, and which must feel the curse, as 'God brings forth his righteous judgments in 'the hearts, and upon the heads, of the trans-'gressors. And knowing there to be a certain 'day of God's calling transgressors to account, 'and the terribleness of his wrath, and consum-'ing pleasure in that day, I warn thee in tender-'ness, and in the bowels of love beseech thee, 'to consider thy ways, and make thy peace with 'him; that thou mayst not be irrecoverably and 'eternally miserable; but mayst be transformed 'by his life and nature, and sow to him the 'fruits thereof, that thou mayst reap and re-'ceive of him that which is the soul's joy.

'And, friend, know this assured truth, it is not 'a religion of man's making or choosing (nei-'ther the pope's, nor any other man's), but only 'that which is of God, which is acceptable to 'him; and what will become of that man, whose 'very religion and worship is hateful to God? 'Where will he stand, or what account will he 'be able to give when he appears before him?'

'Thou hast not often met with such plain dealing as this. These things very nearly concern thee. O, wait upon God for his true light, that thou mayst not be deceived about them; because thy loss thereby will be so great and irreparable!

'I am thy friend in these things, and have written as a true lover and desirer of the welfare of thy soul.

'I. P.'

'From Aylesbury gaol,
'24th of 6th month, 1666.'

The foregoing letter is taken from a late collection, published in 1796 by John Kendall; in which are also other letters dated from his prison-house, or during the time he remained there, replete with instruction, and serving to show the manner in which he passed his days of confinement. This is further exemplified by the number of his own publications dated from this prison: displaying the undaunted mind, calm amidst sufferings, not cast down by oppression, and breathing for the advancement of righteousness. The following extract of a letter to a friend, written at Aylesbury about three months before the foregoing letter, will exemplify what I have said.

'The Lord is tender of me, and merciful to me. Though, indeed, I have felt much weakness both inwardly and outwardly, yet my strength doth not forsake me; but the mercies of the Lord are renewed to me, "morning by

" morning." I could almost sing to his glorious ' name, seeing (in the pure, powerful, over- ' coming life) the death of all that troubles ' Israel. O the gates of hell, ye shall not pre- ' vail against the least lamb of my Father's pre- ' serving, glory be to his mercy, to his love, to ' his power, to his wisdom, to his goodness, for ' evermore!'

His health too during this imprisonment was greatly impaired. He remained in prison a year and a half, during which time he was never brought up, to either sessions or assize; but by some illegal means continued as a prisoner on the calendar. He lay in rooms so cold, damp, and unhealthy, that it had nearly cost him his life, and sent him to the company of confessors, who in the reign of the second Charles, were killed by the rigours of confinement. He became, however, so much disabled, that he lay in a weak state several months. At length a relation of his wife procured his removal, by habeas corpus, to the bar of the court of King's bench, where, with the wonder of the court that a man should be imprisoned so long for nothing, he was discharged in the year 1668.

Although Isaac Penington, as has been shown, had his abundant consolation, under his sufferings, it does not appear to have lifted him up. The following letter to George Fox, written from Aylesbury gaol, may serve to prove this, and to evince his high esteem for that friend, and pro-

bably may be otherwise generally acceptable to the reader.

'Dear G. F.

'I feel the tender mercy of the Lord, and 'some proportion of that brokenness, fear, and 'humility, which I have long waited for, and 'breathed after. I feel unity with, and strength 'from, the body: O! blessed be the Lord, who 'hath fitted and restored me, and brought up 'my life from the grave. I feel an high esteem 'and dear love to thee, whom the Lord hath 'chosen, anointed, and honoured, and of thy 'brethren and fellow-labourers in the work of 'the Lord. And, dear G. F. I beg thy love; I 'entreat thy prayer, in faith and assurance 'that the Lord hears thee, that I may be yet 'more broken, that I may be yet more filled 'with the fear of the Lord, that I may be 'yet poorer and humbler before the Lord, and 'may walk in perfect humility and tenderness 'of spirit before him, all my days. Dear G. F. 'thou mayst feel my desires and wants more 'fully than my own heart. Be helpful to me, 'in tender love, that I may feel settlement and 'stability in the Truth; and perfect separation 'from, and dominion in the Lord over, all that 'is contrary thereto. 'I. P.'

'Aylesbury gaol,
'15th of 5th month, 1667.'

'I entreat thy prayers for my family, that 'the name of the Lord may be exalted, and his

'Truth flourish therein. Dear G. F. indeed my 'soul longs for the pure, full, and undisturbed 'reign of the Life, in me.'

Another short effusion of his benevolent heart, during this imprisonment can scarcely fail of pleasing such as desire the welfare of the Christian community. It is addressed to 'Friends of 'Amersham,' his neighbours.

'Friends,

'Our life is love, and peace, and tenderness, 'and bearing with one another, and forgiving 'one another; and not laying accusations one 'against another; but praying one for another, 'and helping one another with a tender hand, 'if there has been any slip or fall; and waiting 'till the Lord give sense and repentance, if sense 'and repentance in any be wanting. O! wait 'to feel this spirit, and to be guided to walk 'in this spirit; that ye may enjoy the Lord in 'sweetness, and walk sweetly, meekly, tenderly, 'peaceably, and lovingly, one with another. 'And then ye will be a praise to the Lord; and 'any thing that is, or hath been, or may be 'amiss, ye will come over in the true dominion, 'even in the Lamb's dominion; and that which 'is contrary shall be trampled upon, as life rules 'in you. So, watch to your hearts and ways, 'and watch over one another in that which is 'gentle and tender, and knows it can neither 'preserve itself, nor help another out of the

'snare; but the Lord must be waited upon, to 'do this in and for all. So mind Truth, the 'service, enjoyment, and possession of it in 'your hearts; and so to walk as ye may bring no 'disgrace upon it; but ye may be a good sa-'vour in the places where ye live: the meek, 'innocent, tender, righteous life reigning in 'you, governing of you, and shining through 'you in the eyes of all with whom ye con-'verse.

'Your friend in the Truth, and desirer 'of your welfare and prosperity 'therein.

'I. P.'

'Aylesbury, 4th of 3d month, 1667.'

CHAP. IV.

Loss of his estate—attachment to his friends in Bucks—goes to board at Waltham-abbey, Essex—by the assistance of his wife purchases a house at Amersham Woodside—she superintends the alterations—Conventicle-act—sixth imprisonment, at Reading—released by patent with many others—his constancy in suffering—death of his son at sea—his tract entitled 'Flesh and blood of Christ,' &c.—its occasion—a review of it—letter to a friend.

HITHERTO, on his several releasements from prison, Isaac Penington had returned to his house, called the Grange at Chalfont St. Peter's; but on this releasement he had scarcely a home to which to resort. His wife relates that they had been injured by their relations, who, knowing their conscientious scruple to swear, had involved them in a suit in Chancery, where their answer without an oath was invalid. They were also wronged by their tenants, and perplexed with various law-suits; but at length the relations were able to carry their machinations to so great a length, that, during the time that Isaac Penington lay in the last-mentioned cruel imprisonment,

his wife and family were turned out of his house, by the persons who had gotten possession of his estate. By these means the family was broken up. The wife placed herself at Aylesbury, to be near her husband; and the youthful Gulielma Springett went for a while on a visit at Bristol. Afterwards the family had lodgings in the adjoining parish called Chalfont St. Giles's, and thence removed to more spacious ones at Amersham. During their residence at the former place, the tutor, too, of the children, who from having been himself fostered in the family, was now become in his turn, variously useful in it, was taken from them and committed to prison, by Bennett, the same violent magistrate who the year before had committed both him and his patron, as hath been already related. At length means were found to provide themselves with a suitable habitation, in the following manner.

They were much attached to the friends in the neighbourhood of the Chalfonts, whom they had been instrumental in gathering to the knowledge of the Truth, with whom they had suffered, and with whom, no doubt, they had harmonized and rejoiced. They therefore sought for a house in that neighbourhood diligently; but finding none that seemed to suit them, to be let, and not inclining to make a purchase, the wife proposed that they should go and reside on an estate in Kent, part probably of her own real property, which had not, like all her husband's, been rent away by the relations. To this, Isaac Penington

objected, for the reasons already mentioned, and because the inhabitants of that part of Buckinghamshire, in which they had so long lived, knew and commiserated their troubles and losses, and did not expect their establishment now could be any longer as it had been, or equal to the rank they had held. They had lived in great plenty, but were now obliged to submit to a much lower stile of life than that to which they had been accustomed; and to their neighbours it was almost matter of surprise that they could still pay to every one his own. At length they concluded to go and board during one summer at Waltham-Abbey in Essex, in order that their children, who about this time lost their domestic tutor by the marriage of Thomas Ellwood, might have the accommodation of the school kept at that town by Christopher Taylor.* Near the time of their departure for their new lodgings, a friend who was expressing his regret at losing their society, again proposed to them a small purchase. Mary Penington, who seems in temporals as well as spirituals, to have been truly a help-meet to

* This was the school in which there was so extraordinary a visitation, and influence of good, among the children: as is circumstantially related in a pamphlet published by C. Taylor, entitled, 'A Testimony to the Lord's power and 'blessed appearance among Children, &c.'—of which a new edition was printed by Darton & Harvey, in 1799. He was also the author of several other pieces, particularly a compendious Grammar of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, entitled Compendium trium linguarum, &c.

her husband, objected much to the proposal, and told the proposer that the circumstances of her husband and herself would not admit of it. Their friend however urged his proposal so strongly, that Mary was induced to go and inspect the premises. It was a small estate called Woodside, near Amersham, of about £30 per annum, with an old house on it: and it had so ruinous and unpromising an appearance, that Mary entirely gave up the thought of the purchase. Soon after this, the worthy couple were disappointed in their expectation of procuring a house at Beaconsfield: on which proposals were again made to them, respecting the estate at Woodside. The remainder of the story I cannot better relate than in the words of this notable woman, to whom her husband left the entire management of the business. 'Taking,' says she, 'some friends with me, I went to see it 'again. While they viewed the ground, I went 'into the house. The whole plan was in my 'mind—what to pull down, and what to add. 'Calculating the whole expence, I judged it 'might be done by selling an estate of mine in 'Kent.'

'Next day we went for Waltham, requesting 'our friends to act in the affair, and write [to] 'us upon it; which they did; and informed us, 'the title was clear. When I received the mes-'sage, my mind was much to the Lord, with de-'sires that if it was the place he gave us liberty 'to settle in, he would order it for us. My hus-

'band was very averse to building; yet considering his *all* was lost, and the estate to be disposed of was mine, he was willing I should do what I would in the affair, provided he had no trouble in building: so we agreed for the purchase. My mind was often engaged in prayer that I might be preserved from entanglements and cumber; and that [the house] might be such an habitation as would manifest that the Lord was again restoring us, and had regard to us. When it was bought, I went industriously and cheerfully about the business; but I saw many unusual incumbrances present themselves, which, I still cried to the Lord, that I might go through in his fear, and not darken and incumber my mind. I was, by the surveyor, put upon altering my plan, and raising a part new from the ground. My husband joining with him, I could not well avoid it. This brought great trouble upon me; for now I did not see my way so well as before; and, not knowing how I should compass the charge, I took no pleasure in any thing. At last I fell ill, and could not look after it. Great was my exercise of mind: one while fearing I had not divine approbation upon my undertaking; then reflecting that I did not seek great things, nor vain glory in a fine habitation; for according to my plan it would have been very ordinary. After a time of close exercise and prayer, I again came to clearness, and the honesty and uprightness of my intention

'was accepted, so that I went on without 'anxious care or disquiet, and the building was 'managed by me rather in delight, through the 'answer of peace which I felt; and not by 'reason of any distinguishing solicitude I had 'about it.' (Should she not rather have said *any particular gratification;* for solicitude more often banishes, than procures delight). 'When I 'went to meeting in the morning, I set all 'things in order; and rarely found them so 'much as to rise in my mind, when going to, 'or at meeting. This kept my mind very sweet 'and savoury, for I had nothing in all this which 'disquieted me, having no other care but that 'there might be no waste, which I always pre-'vented by my constant inspection, so that no 'cause of fretting or anger was administered. 'I laid me down and rested very pleasantly. I 'awoke in a sweet sense, and was employed all 'the day; but had no labour or disturbance in 'my mind; which kept me in health and sweet 'peace, till the whole was accomplished.'

Let no one espouse the opinion, that spiritual direction may not be useful in the management of temporal concerns. It is certain that on various occasions, by means of undertaking plans which have the semblance of practicability and usefulness, many persons are daily led into disappointment; and often, into increasing degrees of "alienation from God." And, to come a little nearer to our present subject, it seems peculiarly advisable for religious people to

determine with great caution the place of their outward habitation. There is probably no place, in which we may not be influenced by the conduct of those around us, or where we may not ourselves contribute to influence that of our neighbours. For, as we are born to be social, it is not probably saying too much of any man, that something may be learned from him. How desirable then to be in the spot of providential allotment: which is in fact the spot of safety, benefit, and usefulness! Mary Penington appears to have been a person early imbued with sentiments like these: and those who are fond of observing character, and of tracing it through the vicissitudes of a man's life, may here recognize the same feature of her mind, which she early displayed, by her trust in Providence respecting outward things; as has been related in the account of her progress to religious stability.

It may easily be imagined that Isaac Penington's mind was active, during the latter restraints on his person, and some proof of it has been given. He had, however, recourse to the press about eleven times in the four years preceding his removal to Woodside, the habitation which the industry and property of his wife had been the means of providing for him. But Woodside did not yet become the asylum of his latter days; for he was immured for a year and three quarters, suffering under the arm of persecution, in the county gaol at Reading.

In the year 1670 was passed that singularly oppressive law, commonly called the Conventicle-Act. It imposed heavy fines on such dissenters as should suffer meetings to be held in their houses, and gave unusual powers to magistrates for the levying of these, and other fines which it imposed, and for the imprisonment of such as should become obnoxious to the severity of the law. It also held out great encouragement to informers, and of course the country was soon infested with that pernicious race of men. By the vigilant and seasonable exertions of Thomas Ellwood, who, in nearly the outset of the business in the county of Bucks, procured two informers to be convicted of perjury, Buckinghamshire was not much molested with this new engine of oppression; but in the neighbouring county of Berks, the Friends had their full measure of distress by means of the persecuting law. The gaol at Reading was crowded with them, and Isaac Penington going, according to Christian practice, to visit them in their confinement, was informed against before a magistrate who had long signalized himself as a furious persecutor. By this man Isaac Penington was committed to the same prison, whither he had come to sympathize with his brethren already there. We do not in this instance read of his being taken at any religious meeting, or violating any clause of the late act. It is, however, more than possible that his visit was employed in silent retirement; but the current of persecution at that

time raged too violently to be always confined even in legal channels.

It is matter of regret that our early recorders of the sufferings of Friends, are not so explicit in their details, as to make it always easy to trace a friend through the alleged offence, the law by which he suffered, the punishment, and the mode of relief. In the twenty-one months of Isaac Penington's detention, it is probable that he was, at some of the assizes or sessions that occurred during the period, convicted of refusing the oath of allegiance, because it is related by Ellwood, in his testimony, that he was brought under the sentence of præmunire. It appears also from Besse's Account of Sufferings, that the magistrate had sent for him, on the information of the gaoler, had tendered to him the oath, and had made the refusal the ostensible reason of his commitment. However, when Charles the Second released, by letters patent, such friends as were imprisoned on suits of the crown, Isaac Penington shared in the benefit, and left, for the sixth and last time, the confinement of a prison. A fellow-sufferer, in several of his imprisonments, gives the following description of his conduct in those trying situations. 'Being 'made willing by the power of God to suffer 'with great patience, cheerfulness, contented-'ness, and true nobility of spirit, he was a 'good example to me and others. I do not re-'member that ever I saw him cast down, or de-'jected in his spirit, in the time of his close con-

'finement, nor speak hardly of those that per-
'secuted him; for he was of that temper as to
'love enemies, and to do good to those that
'hated him; having received a measure of that
'virtue, from Christ his master, that taught him
'so to do. Indeed I may say, in the prison he
'was a help to the weak, being made instru-
'mental in the hand of the Lord for that end.
'O! the remembrance of the glory that did
'often overshadow us in the place of confine-
'ment: so that indeed the prison was made by
'the Lord, who was powerfully with us, as a
'pleasant palace! I was often, with many more,
'by those streamings of life that did many times
'run through his vessel, greatly overcome with
'the pure presence, and overcoming love of
'our God, that was plentifully shed abroad in
'our hearts.'

I have proceeded so connectedly with the account of the sufferings of Isaac Penington in the support of his principles; among which the loss of his estate, so far as his religious restraint from swearing had a share in facilitating the designs of his relations, must be accounted a great one; that I have omitted to mention in the exact order of time, a domestic trouble occasioned by the death of his son. It was Isaac, the second son, a youth of excellent, and very promising abilities. He was intended to be educated for a merchant; but before it was thought fit to engage him in the occupations of the counting-house, his parents consented to a proposal that

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

he should make a voyage to Barbadoes, for the purpose of passing a little time not unaptly for his future prospects in life, of seeing the island, and gaining some knowledge of the sea. He was therefore intrusted to the care of a valuable friend who commanded a vessel in the Barbadoes-trade; and took with him a small adventure, made up by his friends. All seemed going prosperously on, and he was returning with his little cargo of produce, when unwarily he fell overboard while the ship was sailing before a brisk gale; nor could the utmost care and diligence of the master and mariners of the ship avail to recover him. The news of this event must have reached his affectionate parents, before the last imprisonment of Isaac Penington, and about the time of the family's entrance on the house at Woodside. Ellwood the preceptor of this youth partook deeply of the grief occasioned by his death, and wrote some lines of condolence. He doth not often excel in poetry, though his thoughts are worthy the Christian, and on this occasion a motto which he subjoins to his verses, seems to contain the essence of all stable consolation. Whence it is quoted I know not.

——*Domino mens nixa quieta est.*

From the time that Isaac Penington went to inhabit the asylum of his declining years, which was procured by the care, and at the charge of his wife, few are the occurrences related of him.

The remainder of his life must therefore principally be surveyed by occasional views of the tenour of his mind, as it is exhibited in some of his letters, or publications.

It appears from the preface of a tract published in 1675, entitled 'The Flesh and Blood of 'Christ in the mystery and in the outward, briefly, plainly, and uprightly acknowledged, and 'testified to, &c.' that he had lately been in London. His business was to attend some meetings between Friends and the Baptists. About the year 1673 a baptist-minister, named Hicks, had published some invidious dialogues under the title of 'A Dialogue between a Chris-'tian and a Quaker.' In these he is said to have made his supposed Quaker appear not a little ridiculous and profane. His way seems to have been to make his pretended Christian prove false doctrine against the Quakers by quotations out of their books. Among others he quotes Isaac Penington; but he attempts to establish his charges by a mode of citation so unfair, that it was probably on this account that Penington thought himself engaged not only to attend some of the meetings; but also to vindicate himself in print, by means of the pamphlet already mentioned. As it may serve to show the manner in which Isaac Penington managed controversy, and thus exhibit him in a light somewhat different from that in which we have hitherto viewed him, though still tinged with philanthropy; as it may demonstrate the faith of

Friends on some deep and important points of doctrine; and as it may hold up to view the accustomed method of the spirit of error, in attempting to misrepresent when it cannot refute; it may be proper to make some copious extracts from this pamphlet.

Hicks had charged the Quakers with accounting *that the blood of Christ was no more than a common thing.* For proof of this, he had drawn together some disjointed passages from a book of Penington's, called 'A Question to the professors of Christianity, whether they have the 'true, living, powerful, saving knowledge of 'Christ, or no,' &c. Therefore, says Isaac Penington, 'having been at that meeting to 'clear my innocency in that particular; but 'the thing not then coming in question,——it 'was in my heart—to give forth this testimony 'to take off that untruth and calumny of T. H. 'both from the people called Quakers and myself, being both of us greatly injured, as the 'Lord God of heaven and earth knoweth. I 'have had experience of that despised people 'many years, and I have often heard them (even 'the ancient ones of them) own Christ both 'inwardly and outwardly. Yea, I heard one of 'the ancients of them thus testify, in a public 'meeting many years since, That if Christ had 'not come in the flesh in the fulness of time, to 'bear our sins in his own body on the tree, and 'to offer himself up a sacrifice for mankind, all 'mankind had utterly perished.'

This allusion to the words of the ancient friend, is strongly in point to prove, as it is intended to prove, the high and infinite value which our pious ancestors and predecessors set on the death and sufferings of Christ. Its accuracy however in point of argument, as an abstract position, may, I think, be questioned; because it seems to limit to one mode, the operation of divine love. It is enough for us to receive and embrace the Christian dispensation, as the mode chosen by Almighty Wisdom.

'What cause then,' continues Penington, 'have 'we to praise the Lord God, for sending his Son 'in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for what his 'Son did therein! O professors, do not per-'vert our words (by reading them with a pre-'judiced mind) quite contrary to the drift of 'God's Spirit by us. If ye should thus read the 'holy scriptures, yea, the very words of Christ 'himself therein, and give that wisdom of yours, 'which fights against us, scope to comment upon 'them, and pervert them after this manner, what 'a strange and hideous appearance of untruth, 'and contradiction to the very Scriptures of the 'Old Testament, might ye make of that wonder-'ful appearance of God?* For the words of 'Christ seemed so foolish and impossible to the

* Who would think that I. Penington should in 1802 be charged with Socinianism; or, to use the new name which persons of these principles have assumed, with having been a Unitarian?

'wise men of that age that they frequently contradicted, and sometimes derided him.'——

'Oh! T. H. dost thou believe the eternal judgment at the great day, not outwardly only in notion, but inwardly in heart? Oh! then consider how wilt thou answer it to God, for saying so many things in the name of a people, as their belief and words, which never were spoken by any one of them, nor ever came into any one of their hearts! Innocency in me, life in me, truth in me, the Christian spirit and nature in me, is a witness against thee, that thou wrotest thy dialogues out of the Christian nature and spirit.'——'I pity thee, yea, I can truly say I forgive thee the injury thou hast done me (though indeed it is very great, thus to represent me publicly; what thou couldst not have done, if thou hadst equally considered the things written in that book); and I also desire that thou mayst be sensible of what thou hast so evilly done, and confess it before God, that he also might forgive thee.'———'As for my particular, I had committed my cause to the Lord, and intended to have been wholly silent, knowing my innocency will be cleared by him in this particular at the great day; and the love, truth, and uprightness wherein I wrote these things owned by him. But in the love of God, and in the stillness and tenderness of my spirit, I was moved by him to write what follows. And oh! that it would please the Lord to make it serviceable, even to T. H. himself, for his good.'

The foregoing is a quotation from the preface; the following, from the body of the work.

'In the second part of Thomas Hicks's Dia-
'logues, called Continuation, p. 4, he maketh
'his personated Quaker speak thus: *Thou sayest,*
'*we account the blood of Christ no more than a*
'*common thing; yea, no more than the blood of*
'*a common thief.* To which he makes his per-
'sonated Christian answer thus: *Isaac Pening-*
'*ton (who I suppose is an approved Quaker) asks*
'*this question, Can outward blood cleanse? There-*
'*fore, saith he, we must inquire whether it was*
'*the blood of the veil, that is, of the human nature;*
'*or the blood within the veil, viz. of that spiritual*
'*man consisting of flesh, blood, and bones, which*
'*took on him the veil, or human nature. It is*
'*not the blood of the veil; that is but outward;*
'*and can outward blood cleanse?* First, I answer,
'these were not my words, which he hath set
'down as mine; but words of his own patching
'up, partly out of several queries of mine, and
'partly out of his own conceivings upon my que-
'ries; as if he intended to make me appear both
'ridiculous and wicked at once. For I no where
'say or affirm, or ever did believe, that Christ is
'a spiritual man consisting of flesh, blood, and
'bones, which took on him the veil of human
'nature. Thus he represents me as ridiculous.
'It is true, Christ inwardly, or as to his inward
'being, was a Spirit, or God blessed for ever,
'manifested in flesh; which (to speak proper-
'ly) cannot have flesh, blood, and bones, as

man hath. And then, besides his alterations at the beginning, putting in only four words of my query, and leaving out this which next follows (which might have manifested my drift and intent in them) he puts in an affirmation, which was not mine, in these his own words, *It is not the blood of the veil; that is but outward;* and then annexeth to this affirmation of his own, the words of my former query, *Can outward blood cleanse?* As if these words of mine, Can outward blood cleanse? did necessarily infer that the blood of Christ is but a common thing. Herein he represents me wicked, and makes me speak, by his changing and adding, that which never was in my heart; and the contrary whereto I have several times affirmed in that very book, where those several queries were put (out of which he forms this his own query, giving it forth in my name). For in the 10th page of that book, beginning at line 3, I positively affirm thus: that *Christ did offer up the flesh and blood of that body (though not only so, for he poured out his soul, he poured out his life) a sacrifice or offering for sin, a sacrifice unto the Father, and in it tasted death for every man; and that it is upon consideration (and through God's acceptance)* of this sacrifice for sin, that the sins of believers are pardoned, that God might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus, or*

* In Penington's Works the Parenthesis ends at *sin*.

'*who is of the faith of Jesus.* Is this common 'flesh and blood? Can this be affirmed of com-'mon flesh and blood? Ought not he to have 'considered this, and other passages in my book 'of the same tendency, and not thus have re-'proached me, and misrepresented me to the 'world?——Doth he herein do as he would be 'done by?——I might also except against those 'words, *human nature* (which he twice putteth 'in) not being my words, nor indeed my sense; 'for by human nature, as I judge, is understood 'more than the body; whereas, I, by the word 'veil, intended no more than the flesh (or out-'ward body), which in scripture is expressly so 'called. Heb. x. 20. 'Through the veil, that is "to say, his flesh."

In the next place, Isaac Penington complains of his adversary for not citing the page, or even the book, whence he drew his pretended quotation. Afterwards he goes on, 'Thirdly, the 'drift of all those queries in that book was not 'to vilify the flesh and blood of Christ, by re-'presenting it as a common or useless thing; 'but to bring people, from sticking in the out-'ward, to a sense of the inward mystery: with-'out which inward sense and feeling, the mag-'nifying and crying up the outward doth not 'avail.' These last lines are an epitome of the work and concern of our ancient friends. In consequence of their pressing home upon men's consciences the inward work of sanctification, by means of the light of Christ, and

not much urging a belief in the mere letter, which in their day did not appear to want to be urged, their adversaries accused them of denying the outward facts of the gospel. At this day, when the spirit of infidelity stalks abroad with greater confidence than in the days of Penington, these outward facts are treated by many with unbecoming slight: Friends have therefore thought it needful more nakedly to avow their adherence to them; and the gainsaying spirit has so far shown itself to be the same which opposed our predecessors, that it still attempts to make it believed that Isaac Penington and his associates were inclining to that opinion which tends to degrade the character of Christ, and to assign to him the rank of a mere man. "Believe not" therefore "every spirit."

After much more than is convenient to be quoted in the limits of this work, Penington proceeds to his fourth head of vindication, which, much abridged, runs thus. 'Fourthly, This 'query, *Can outward blood cleanse the con-* 'science, &c. doth not necessarily, nor indeed at 'all, infer, that the blood of Christ, as to the 'outward, was but a common thing, or useless.— 'It was put to the professors to answer inwardly 'in their hearts, who, I did believe, upon se- 'rious consideration, could not but confess— 'that outward blood itself (or of itself) could 'not cleanse and purge away the filth that was 'inward; but that must be done by that which 'is inward, living, and spiritual. Then hereby

'they had been brought to see the necessity of 'the mystery, the Spirit, the power, the life of 'the Son, to be inwardly revealed in them; 'and then I had obtained my end.——And if they 'could once come to this——I could meet them 'a great way in speaking glorious things of, and 'attributing a cleansing or washing virtue to 'the outward, in, through, and with the inward. 'For I do not separate the inward and outward 'in my own mind; but the Lord opened my 'heart; and taught me thus to distinguish ac- 'cording to the scriptures, in love to them, and 'for their sakes. For that was not my intent, 'to deny the outward, or make it appear as a 'common or useless thing. There was never 'such a sense in my heart; nor was ever word 'written or spoken by me, to that end.'

Among the various concerns of Isaac Penington in this year, was a letter written in answer to one which he had received, from some person whom he apprehended to be stumbling, in the path of duty. The state is probably not uncommon; and therefore the insertion of it may afford help to some. It seems addressed to one convinced, in degree, of the principles of Friends; but weak in adopting the practice, especially in some particular, and that probably of the kind which is an open confession of self-denial. Thus it begins.

'Ah, my poor, distressed, entangled, friend! 'While thou seekest to avoid the snare, thou 'deeply runnest into it: for thou art feeding

'on the tree of knowledge, in giving way to
'those thoughts, reasonings, and suggestions,
'which keep thee from obedience to that which
'hath been made manifest to thy understand-
'ing. And thou mayst well be feeble in thy
'mind, while thou art thus separated from Him
'who is thy strength, and lettest in his enemy.
'This is not the right feebleness of mind, which
'God pities; nor the right way of waiting to
'receive strength. Why shouldst not thou act
'so as God gives thee light; and why shouldst
'not thou appear willing to obey him even in
'little things, so far as he hath given thee light?
'What if I should say that this is all but the
'subtilty of the serpent's wisdom, to avoid the
'cross; and is not that simplicity and plainness
'of heart towards God, which thou takest it to
'be; and that thou art loth to be so poor, and
'low, and mean in the sight of others, as this
'practice would make thee appear.'

'And what a subtil device hath the enemy
'put into thy mind about prayer; which hath no
'weight nor truth in it, as applied to this pre-
'sent case. For prayer is the breath of life, an
'effect of God's spiritual breathing, which no
'man can perform aright without the Spirit's
'breathing upon him. Therefore the Spirit is
'to be waited upon, for his breathings and holy
'fire, that the sacrifice may be living, and ac-
'ceptable to the living God. But this' (here probably he refers to something respecting prayer mentioned by his correspondent) 'is lan-

'guage, as a man or woman in ordinary converse;
'and doth not require a motion of life to bring
'it forth, no more than to bring forth other
'words. And wilt thou say, Thou longest and
'pantest after the Lord, and the way of truth
'and righteousness; and yet remain walking,
'against the light which God has given thee, in
'things of this nature?'

'O my friend, thou and thy husband have
'dallied too long. The Lord hath shown great
'love and mercy towards you. Take heed of
'dallying any longer. Make straight paths to
'your feet, lest that which is crooked (your
'feet have hitherto been too winding and crook-
'ed) be turned out of the way; but it is the
'desire of my soul for you, that they may rather
'be rectified and healed.'

'Thou sayst, the seasons when thou findest it
'most laid upon thee, is in the hearing of
'Friends, or soon after; and when, in that
'sense, thou resolvest to enter upon the prac-
'tice, thou findest an inability to keep thee
'therein; though thy reason is not only si-
'lenced, but in measure subjected thereunto.
'Now do but mind how far the Lord hath gone
'with thee; and what hinders, and whether it
'be thy duty to give way to, or to resist, that
'which hinders. Thou dost confess God hath
'laid it upon thee; and laid it upon thee at
'those times when thy heart is most tender and
'open towards him (even when thou art in
'the hearing of Friends, or soon after); and

'hath brought thee into a resolution to enter 'into the practice; nay, to help thee further, 'hath not only silenced thy reason, but sub- 'jected it in measure. Have not many entered 'into the practice, and found acceptance and a 'blessing therein, who never were thus helped? 'What wouldst thou have of the Lord? How 'far hath he proceeded towards bringing thee 'into obedience in this thing! But thou sayest, 'thou findest an inability to keep therein. Dost 'thou abide in the faith, where the strength is 'dispensed; and out of the thoughts and consul- 'tations, where the strength of the strongest (if 'they intermeddle there) is broken? O! take 'heed of murmuring againt the Lord (as thou 'hast been too apt to do); and consider what 'great matter of complaint he hath against thee. 'What could he have done more for thee, than 'he hath done? thou being no more ready to 'meet him than thou hast been; but, upon all 'occasions, turning aside from his convictions 'and drawings, into thine own thoughts and 'reasonings.

'I received thy letter last night; and, upon 'reading of it, was greatly burdened and grieved 'for thy sake; feeling thy spirit so exceedingly 'wrong in this matter, and thy reasonings and 'way therein so crooked and provoking to the 'Lord. But this morning, my heart was opened 'and drawn forth in this manner to thee. The 'Lord give a present and a future sight of 'the enemy's working, against the working of

'the love of God towards thee, and against the
'redemption and peace of thy soul. My heart
'breatheth to the Lord for thee; and desireth
'that he may manifest to thee that nature, wis-
'dom, and spirit from whence these things arise,
'and what is in thee which they prevail upon:
'that the child may not always stick in the birth,
'but at length be brought forth into the light,
'into the life, into the faith which gives victory,
'and into the single-hearted and holy obedience,
'where the pure power is met with.

'Thy friend in the truth and in the
'sincere love.

'I. P.'

'Amersham, 25th of 9th month, 1675.'

CHAP. V.

Goes to Astrop Wells—writes to the resorters to that spot—also his tract called 'The everlasting 'gospel,' &c.—also to the Oxford scholars—goes into Kent—at meeting in Canterbury—taken ill—dies at Goodnestone-Court—buried at Jordan's, Bucks—register—some account of those who wrote testimonies of him—G. Whitehead—S. Jennings—A. Rigge—T. Zachary—R. Jones—T. Evernden—C. Taylor—A. Parker—copy of his son's testimony—of his wife's.

IN 1678, it appears that Isaac Penington was at Astrop, which is a place in the county of Northampton, on the border of Oxfordshire, at one time frequented for its medicinal spring. The infirm state of his health was probably the occasion of the journey. At this place he wrote the following religious address to those who came thither for the purpose of drinking the waters.

'To those persons that drink of the waters at 'Astrop Wells.

'There is a great God, the creator of all 'things, who gave man a being here in this 'world; to whom man must give an account 'when he goes out of this world.'

'This great God, who loves mankind and 'would not have them perish, is nigh unto man, 'to teach him the fear which is due from him to 'God.'

'The man that learns this pure fear of God, 'is daily exercised by it in departing from evil, 'both in thought, word, and deed, and in doing 'that which is good in his sight.'

'There is likewise another teacher near man, 'who is also ready to teach such, who do not 'know God or fear God, that which is dishonour-'able to the great God: who made man, to be 'a vessel of honour, and to be to his glory.'

'They that learn of this teacher, learn not 'to fear God, or to do good; but to please them-'selves in doing evil, in thought, word, and 'deed.'

'Oh! what account will such give when they 'go out of this world, and come to be judged 'by the great God (who is of pure eyes, and 'cannot behold iniquity), when their sins are 'set in order by him before them, and just 'judgment proportioned by him thereunto?'

'Oh! why do men forget God, their creator, 'days without number; hearkening to him who 'first deceived them; doing the will of the de-'ceiver; and not the will of the blessed Creator 'and Saviour?'

'O! hearken to wisdom's counsel, when she 'cries, in the streets of your hearts, against that 'which is evil, and contrary to the nature, life, 'and will of God: lest a day of calamity from

'God come upon you; and then ye cry unto 'the pitiful and tender God, and his bowels be 'turned against you, and he refuse to show 'mercy to you. Read Prov. i. 20, to the end of 'the chapter; and the Lord give you the weight, 'consideration, and true understanding of it, 'for your soul's good, and for the reclaiming of 'you from any thing that is evil, and destructive 'to your souls.'

'This is written in tender love to you, from 'one who pities and loves you, and desires your 'prosperity in this world, and your everlasting 'happiness with God for ever.

'I. P.'

'Astrop, 15th 6th month, 1678.'

Here also he wrote a short piece entitled 'The 'everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 'and the blessed effects thereof, testified to from 'experience:' a worthy theme for one who had all his life long been endeavouring to conform to it; and which is peculiarly emphatic from the pen of a man, who in such a pursuit, had well nigh finished his course. It is said by the evangelist, speaking of his heavenly master, "Having loved his own, he loved them unto the "end." This was probably said with reference to the approaching end of that outward appearance which John was describing; but I trust it will still hold good as relating to the entire life of such as have persevered in the faith and patience of Jesus: consonant with that other scrip-

ture, to be found in the Hebrews, " I will never " leave thee, nor forsake thee." By this means, his own, his faithful, his redeemed ones (and who may not, by co-operating with his grace, become such?) are still bringing forth to the end, the fruits of his love. " They shall be fat " and flourishing," saith the Psalmist, " they " shall still bring forth fruit in old age."

This small piece does not wear the aspect of controversy, or enter into argument; but is principally declaratory. Yet it appears that it was intended for the benefit of the Papists. Thus it is wound up. ' This opened in me, this ' morning, in love and compassion towards the ' Papists. My bowels have often rolled over ' them, and been pained concerning them, to ' see how they are closed and shut up as to the ' true sense and understanding of things of this ' nature. Oh! that they would prize the day of ' their visitation, that they might hear the sound ' of life, both from others, and also in their own ' hearts, and the saving arm of the Lord might ' be inwardly revealed to them, and they effec- ' tually redeemed thereby!' But here comes another touch of the love which hopeth all things,—' I am no disdainer of Papists, or any ' sort of Protestants, nay, not of Turks or Jews; ' but a mourner because of their several mis- ' takes, and a breather to the God of my life, ' for tender mercy towards them all.'

' Astrop, 13th of the 7th month, 1678.'

This appears to have been the last tract published in the life-time of this industrious writer; but we find a letter, extant only in manuscript, dated from Oxford the 23d of the 7th month, addressed to some scholars of that university, who had behaved rudely at a meeting where Isaac Penington was present: probably on his return from Astrop. It may be suitable to insert it here.

'To the Scholars that disturb Friends, in their 'meetings at Oxford.

'I heard such jeering yesterday, at *Being 'moved by the Spirit of God*, as indeed grieved 'me; because I was and am sensible of the 'great hurt it doth to those that give scope to 'themselves therein. Now, I entreat such to 'consider, doth not Christ say, 'It is the Spirit "that quickens?' Is not man dead in trespasses 'and sins, till the Lord quicken him to life, by 'his Holy Spirit? And when the soul is in any 'measure made alive, doth it not feel the want 'of God's Spirit to keep it alive, and to add life 'to it? And is not this the great thing, the soul 'cries to God for, even that Spirit whereby 'alone it can live to God, and be preserved 'alive before him? Did not David pray to God 'that the Lord would quicken and uphold him 'by his free Spirit? And again, 'Cast me not "away from thy presence, and take not thy holy "Spirit from me?' And did not Christ say, 'relating to the similitude of parents, 'If ye

" being evil, know how to give good gifts to
" your children, how much more shall your hea-
" venly Father give his Spirit to them that ask
" him?' And they that ask the Spirit of Him,
' when he gives it, will they not gladly receive
' it? And when it is received, will it not move
' them unto good, and against evil; and ought
' not they to wait to be moved by it? Doth not
' the natural life and spirit move in the natural
' body; and shall not the spiritual life live and
' move in the inward man; and they which are
' truly alive be moved and guided by it? They
' that have not the Spirit of God, are they his?
' And they that have his Spirit, is it not a Spirit
' of light, of life, of righteousness, of holiness, of
' grace, of truth, &c. and ought not all the chil-
' dren of the light and of the truth, to wait for
' its motions, that they may follow its leadings
' and guidings? Did not the Christians of old
' live in the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit, and
' not fulfil the lusts of the flesh? And ought not
' all the Christians now to do so also? ' If ye
" live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye,
" through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of
" the body, ye shall live.' O! wait, that ye may
' experience those things; and do not disturb
' or deride others in their waiting upon God, to
' experience those things, even now and more:
' who cannot but mourn and pray for you, while
' ye are doing towards them that which ye ought
' not. The Lord give you rightly to wait for
' true understanding; that ye may receive it

'from him in these and all other things that 'concern your everlasting welfare.'

'This is in true love and good-will to you, 'from him who wisheth well to your souls: even 'that ye may know, partake of, and rejoice in, 'God's salvation.'

'I. P.'

'Oxford, 23d of 7th month, 1678.'

The following year he took a journey with his wife into Kent; and one of the last meetings that he attended was in Canterbury. A friend who was present, speaks of that meeting, and of another wherein his public labours closed, as follows:—'Glad I am that it was my lot to be 'with him, the two last meetings that he was at, 'the first of which was in the city of Canterbury. 'I being at that time very weak in body, and 'it lay upon me from the Lord to go to the 'meeting, where I found him together with 'Friends waiting in silence upon the Lord. And 'when I had sat down with them, O! the mighty 'power of the Lord God that descended upon 'us; so that I could say the fountain of the 'great deep was opened; and O! the powerful, 'pleasant, and crystal streams, how did they 'abundantly flow into our hearts! And his cup 'was made to overflow, to the watering and re-'freshing of the tender-hearted: so that God 'did make me a witness of the seal of his testi-'mony, with many more, at those two last meet-'ings.'

The property of Mary Penington lay in that county, and after having been among their tenants they spent some time at Goodnestone-court, one of her farms, in the parish of that name.* On the day fixed for his return towards his habitation, he became ill, and after a week's illness, was removed from this scene of suffering. His disorder was sharp and painful; but the anguish gave no disturbance to that internal peace, which was so firmly established before it attacked him; but he died, as he had lived, in the faith that overcomes the world.† His remains were taken into Buckinghamshire, and interred in the burying-ground belonging to his beloved friends of Chalfont, at Jordan's near Beaconsfield. The record of this event is to be seen in the monthly meeting register as follows: 'Isaac Penington of Woodside, in the parish of 'Amersham, in the county of Bucks, minister of 'the everlasting gospel, departed this life at 'Goodneston, next Feversham, in the county 'of Kent, on the 8th of the 8th month, 1679, 'and was buried at Jordan's, in the parish of 'Giles-Chalfont, in the county of Bucks.' Thus closed the life of Isaac Penington, at about the age of sixty-three. He was not what is usually termed an old man, but he was probably old in constitution, a weakly constitution impaired by

* Probably Goodwinstone, near Feversham, as Goodnestone and Goodwinstone would both by the usual rapidity of speech, be pronounced Good'nston.

† Penn's Testimony.

sorrow and by sufferings, and he seems to have been peculiarly endowed with the old age of an unspotted life. "Wisdom is the gray hair unto "men, and an unspotted life is old age."

The time he professed himself a member of the despised people called Quakers was about twenty years. That he was in much esteem with them, appears from the number of his brethren who have commemorated him with written memorials, in testimony of their sense of his worth. George Fox, William Penn, George Whitehead, Samuel Jennings, Ambrose Rigge, Thomas Zachary, Robert Jones, Thomas Evernden, Christopher Taylor, Thomas Ellwood, and Alexander Parker,* all gave forth testimonies of this sort,

* George Fox, William Penn, and Thomas Ellwood, are characters well known. George Whitehead was one of the early converts to Friends' principles. In his youth, he travelled as a minister and suffered much. He afterwards fixed his residence chiefly at London, and was much occupied in soliciting relief from the executive government for his suffering brethren. He was also, next to George Fox, the most voluminous writer; but his works have never been collected. He died in 1723, aged about 86. His journal entitled, 'The Christian progress 'of that ancient servant and minister of Jesus Christ, George 'Whitehead,' &c. is an octavo volume of upwards of 700 pages, fraught with information, and almost indispensable for such as wish to become fully acquainted with the history of the Society.

Samuel Jennings was a countryman of Isaac Penington, and resided at Aylesbury, but afterwards went to live in New-Jersey; where he was speaker of the Assembly. He is the author of a controversial tract or two relating to the affair of George Keith.

which are prefixed to the several editions of Isaac Penington's works, besides those of his widow and of his son. The two latter, from persons who lived as it were in his bosom, I propose to insert. It is natural for surviving relations and friends to dwell upon the excellencies of a departed acquaintance; but it seems proper for the reader of their memorials, and the care is congenial to Isaac Penington's wishes and practice, to ascribe all to the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

Ambrose Rigge was of Gatton, and afterwards of Reigate, in Surrey, an eminent friend in his time, the author of several tracts, one of which, namely, 'A brief and serious warning to 'such as are concerned in commerce and trading,' has been several times printed, and is I believe still in print. He died in 1704. He was several years imprisoned at Horsham in Sussex. In Surrey he was excommunicated in 1674, imprisoned in 1676, and in 1683 prosecuted in the Exchequer for 11 months' absence from the national worship, on the statute for £20 per month.

Thomas Zachary was of London, where he died in 1686. He was imprisoned, by the oath of perjured informers, on the Conventicle-act, in Aylesbury goal, where, although the perjury was proved, he was entrapped by the oath of allegiance and lay about two years. One of the convicted informers went to him in the gaol, and on his knees begged him to intercede for the mitigation of the punishment of perjury: with which the innocent man complied, showing his forgiving, Christian spirit. There are three small pieces of his writing.

Of Robert Jones we know little, but that he was a fellow-prisoner with J. P. in 1660, being arrested by armed men at a meeting, by order of the persecuting earl of Bridgewater, and committed to prison for refusing the oath. It is also possible he was the R. J. imprisoned at Newbury, in 1684, for the same cause.

" Every good gift, and every perfect gift cometh " down from the Father of lights and of Spirits;" and the best temper in which to consider the virtues of the pious, is praise to the Almighty in whose strength they were strong.

The testimony of John Penington, the son, is as follows:

' The Testimony of John Penington, to his ' dear and deceased father, Isaac Penington.

' Give me leave also to express my sense of ' him, seeing I have been no small sharer in the

Thomas Evernden or Everden, was probably of Canterbury. He was imprisoned there in 1660, having been taken at a meeting. In 1663, he was excommunicated for not attending the national worship.—Besse's Sufferings, Vol. I.

Christopher Taylor has been already noticed, at page 93. He was of Yorkshire, but afterwards kept a school at Waltham Abbey, and next at Edmonton. In 1661 he was imprisoned at Aylesbury, for being at a meeting, when probably his acquaintance with Isaac Penington began. It is probable he was then travelling in the south, as he is called C. T. of Yorkshire. I do not find that he was much molested during his residence in Essex. He died in Pennsylvania in 1686, having been a member of William Penn's council.

Alexander Parker was also a Yorkshire man, but came to London, where he died in 168$\frac{2}{3}$. He published several tracts. He was imprisoned in 1664 three months in Newgate, having been arrested whilst speaking in a meeting at Mile-End Green; and in 1664 he was fined £20 for preaching. He was one of those liberated from the King's bench in 1685, by James II. so that he must have been again imprisoned. He was an eminent man, and a coadjutor to George Whitehead in applications to persons in power, for relief to Friends.

'loss.—A man that had known the depths of 'satan, and had a stock to lose, before he could 'embrace Truth in the simplicity of it; yet 'came forth in clearness: which is the more re-'markable, inasmuch as few came near him in 'those bright openings and piercing wisdom he 'was endued with in those days, whereby he 'struck at all false foundations and professions, 'and saw their shortness and the very thing they 'wanted. So that when I have taken a view 'of his former writings, and beheld the glory 'he once had, and withal reflected on his pre-'sent condition, on his poverty, on his nothing-'ness, on his self-denial, and self-abasement; 'how little he esteemed all his former know-'ledge, and sights of the heavenly things them-'selves, in comparison of the more excellent 'knowledge, he afterwards received, and how 'he could be a fool for Christ's sake; the 'thing hath affected me, and not a little, many 'times. O! he was not one that could deck 'himself, or desired to appear before men, or 'his very brethren; but ever chose to be more 'to the Lord than to men. And when any have 'been deeply reached, through his tender, yet 'searching, lively testimony, O how great was 'his care that none might look out too much at 'the instrument, or receive truth in the affec-'tionate part! He was also a meek man, and 'very loving; courteous to all; ready to serve 'his very enemies and persecutors; of whom

some, from an ill opinion of him, were gained to love and esteem him. And wherever he entered into a friendship with any, he was constant. Whatever provocations he might afterwards receive from any of them, he could not let go his hold; but ever retained a good-will towards them, and an earnest desire for their welfare. I have also observed, where he hath been engaged on Truth's behalf to rebuke any sharply, who were declining from their first love, and deviating from the truth as it is in Jesus, it hath been with so much reluctancy, and averseness to his natural temper, as I never discerned the like in any: and herein I am not alone. So that it may be safely said he never used the rod, but with bowels to reclaim; and in the love was drawn to smite what the purest love could not suffer to go unrebuked. What he was in the church of God for exemplariness, for deep travail, for sound judgment, and heavenly ministry, I know, not a few are very sensible of. And have not I seen his cup many times overflow, and him so filled that the vessel was scarce able to contain? O! it was delightful to me to be with him (as it was often my lot) in his service on Truth's account! And my cry is, that I may walk worthy of so dear a parent, so unwearied and earnest a traveller [travailer] for mine and others' eternal well-being, and so faithful and eminent a labourer in God's vineyard: who is

' now gone to his rest in a good day, having first ' seen the effects of the travail of his soul, and ' been satisfied in the Lord. But he hath left ' us, his children, behind, for whom he hath often ' prayed, and besought the Lord with tears, ' That " we might walk in his steps, and our father's " God might be our God, and that the blessings " of our father's life might descend upon us;' ' and we are still, after much weakness, upon the ' stage of this world; which, that it may be so ' rightly improved, that we may walk worthy of ' the manifold visitations we have had from him ' in particular, and many faithful labourers in ' general, is the incessant desire of him that ' hopes, with thankfulness to the Lord, to reve- ' rence his memory, as well as that he honours ' him in the relation of a dear and tender father,

' JOHN PENINGTON.'

' The 9th of the 3d month, 1681.'

This testimony has a postscript from which was extracted the account of Isaac Penington's decease already mentioned.

This testimony of the son seems a plain man's tribute of sincere affection to the memory of a kind father; and shows that the deceased had secured, what it should be the aim of all parents to secure, the love and respect of his children. The wife, writing under still deeper impressions, after the dissolution of a tie more than conjugal, and at an earlier period of her separation from her bosom companion, becomes almost poetic,

Her testimony is a song and an elegy; not however in the plaintive language of disconsolation, but fraught with images which excite admiration, and with the consoling balm of acquiescence in the disposition of Providence.

Thus she breaks forth——'Whilst I keep silent 'touching thee, O thou blessed of the Lord and 'his people, my heart burneth within me. I 'must make mention of thee, for thou wast a 'most pleasant plant of renown, planted by the 'right-hand of the Lord; and 'thou tookest "deep rooting downwards, and sprangest upward.' The dew of heaven fell on thee, and 'made thee fruitful, and thy fruit was of a fragrant smell, and most delightful. O! where 'shall I begin to recount the Lord's remarkable 'dealings with thee! He set his love on thee, 'O thou one of the Lord's peculiar choice, to 'place his name on. Wast not thou sanctified 'in the womb? Thy very babish days declared 'of what stock and lineage thou wert. Thou 'desiredst after 'the sincere milk of the word, "as a new-born babe,' even in the bud of thy 'age. O! who can declare how thou hast travelled towards the holy land, in thy very infancy as to days! O! who can tell what thy 'soul hath felt in thy travel! O! thou wast 'gotten to be in the mount with the Lord, and 'his spiritual Moses, when the princes and elders 'saw but his back parts, and feared, and quaked 'to hear the terrible thunderings in mount 'Sinai. The breast of consolation was held out

'to thee early, and thou suckedst thy fill, till
'the vessel could no longer contain; for thou
'couldst not in that fulness, 'see God and live'
'in this tabernacle: so that thou besoughtest
'the Lord to abate this exceeding excellent
'glory, and give thee such a measure as was
'food convenient. O! the heavenly, bright,
'living openings that were given to thee many
'years past! His light shone round about thee,
'and the book of the creatures was opened to
'thee, and his mysteries (made known to holy
'men of old, who spoke them forth as they were
'inspired by the Holy Ghost) were made known
'to thee, to discern. Such a state as I have never
'known any in, in that day, have I heard thee
'declare of. O! this did it please the Lord
'to withdraw and shut up as in one day; and
'so leave thee desolate and mourning many a
'day; weary of the night and of the day; poor
'and naked, sad, distressed, and bowed down.
'Thou refusedst to be comforted, because it
'was a time of night, and not day; and because
'He that was gone was not come. His time of
'manifesting his love was not at hand, but he
'was as a stranger, or one gone into a far coun-
'try, not ready to return; and thou wouldst
'accept of no beloved in his absence; but testi-
'fiedst that he thy soul longed for was not in this
'or that observation, nay, nor opening; but thy
'beloved, when he came, would sit as a refiner's
'fire, and would come with 'his fan in his hand,
'and thoroughly purge his floor.' No likeness,

'or appearance, or taking sound of words, or 'visions, or revelations, wouldst thou take up 'with, instead of Him that was life indeed. O! 'the many years thou puttest thy mouth in the 'dust, and wentest softly and bowed down, and 'hadst anguish of soul, weeping and groaning, 'panting and sighing! O! who can tell the one 'half of the bitterness of thy soul! Because 'substance was in thine eye, all shadows did 'fly away from before thee. Thou couldst not 'feed on that which was not bread from heaven.'

'In this state I married thee, and my love 'was drawn to thee; because I found thou 'sawest the deceit of all notions, and layest 'as one that refused to be comforted by any 'thing that had the appearance of religion, 'till He came to his temple, who is truth, and 'no lie. For all those shows of religion were 'very manifest to thee, so that thou wert sick 'and weary of them all. And in this, my heart 'cleft to thee, and a desire was in me to be 'serviceable to thee in this desolate condition; 'for thou wast alone and miserable in this 'world, and I gave up much to be a companion 'to thee in this thy suffering. O! my sense, 'my sense of thee and thy state in that day, 'even makes me as one dumb, for the greatness 'of it is beyond my capacity to utter.'

'This little testimony, to thy hidden life, 'my dear and precious one, in a day and time 'when none of the Lord's gathered people knew 'thy face, nor were in any measure acquainted

'with thy many sorrows, and deep wounds and 'distresses, have I stammered out: that it might 'not be forgotten that thou wast in the land of the 'living, and thy fresh springs were in God, and 'light was on thy Goshen, when thick darkness 'covered the people. But now that the day is 'broken forth, and thou wert so eminently ga-'thered into it, and a faithful publisher of it, 'I leave this bright state of thine to be declared 'of by the sons of the morning, who have been 'witnesses of the rising of that bright star of 'righteousness in thee, and its guiding thee to 'the Saviour, even Jesus, the First and the Last. 'They, I say, who are strong, and have over-'come the evil one, and are fathers in Israel, 'have declared of thy life in God, and have 'published it in many testimonies here to the 'glorious, saving Truth, that thou wert partaker 'of, livedst, and passedst hence in, as in a fiery 'chariot, into the eternal habitation, with the 'holy saints, prophets, and apostles of Jesus.'

'Ah me! he is gone! he that none exceeded 'in kindness, in tenderness, in love inexpres-'sible to the relation as a wife. Next to the 'love of God in Christ Jesus to my soul, was 'his love precious and delightful to me. My 'bosom-one! that was as my guide and counsel-'lor! my pleasant companion! my tender, sym-'pathizing friend! as near to the sense of my 'pain, sorrow, grief, and trouble, as it was pos-'sible! Yet this great help and benefit is gone; 'and I, a poor worm, a very little one to him,

'compassed about with many infirmities, through 'mercy let him go without an unadvised word of 'discontent, or inordinate grief. Nay, further, 'such was the great kindness the Lord showed 'to me in that hour, that my spirit ascended 'with him in that very moment that his spirit 'left his body; and I saw him safe in his own 'mansion, and rejoiced with him, and was at 'that instant gladder of it, than ever I was of 'enjoying him in the body. And from this 'sight my spirit returned again to perform my 'duty to his outward tabernacle, to the answer 'of a good conscience.

'This testimony to dear Isaac Penington, is from the greatest loser of all that had a share in his life,

'MARY PENINGTON.'

'This was written at my house at 'Woodside, the 27th of the Second 'month, 1680, between Twelve and 'One at night, whilst I was watching with my sick child.'

CHAP. VI.

Account of his widow—her state of mind—her daughter Gulielma Penn—laid up with a fever at Edmonton—her state of mind when ill, and ailing—her fear of death removed—dies at Worminghurst, Sussex,

MARY PENINGTON did not very long survive her husband. It is probable the ruin of the estate of Isaac Penington, had been the means of encumbering that of his wife. We find her writing thus in the year 1680. 'Now the 'Lord hath seen good to make me a widow, and 'leave me in a desolate condition, as to my 'guide and companion; but he hath also mer-'cifully disentangled me as to my worldly af-'fairs, and I am in a very easy state. I have 'often desired of the Lord to make way for my 'waiting upon him without distraction, and 'living to him free from all encumbrances; 'therefore I most thankfully, in a deep sense of 'his gracious and kind dealings, receive the 'disposing of my possessions from him. And 'now, through the kindness of the Lord, I have 'cleared my estate of great part of the mort-'gage, and paid most of my bond-debts, so that I

'can easily compass my affairs. And, this Fourth 'month, 1680, I have made my will, leaving a 'handsome provision for my children, besides a 'sufficiency to pay my debts and legacies.'—— 'These things being settled, my mind is at li- 'berty; and in regard to my outward condition 'and habitation, every thing is to my heart's 'content. Having no great family, I live re- 'tired, and have leisure to apply my heart unto 'wisdom; yet I am at times mourning the loss 'of my worthy companion, and [am] also exer- 'cised by the great sickness and weakness of 'my children.'—'I am sensible of death, and 'have no desire for life, feeling a satisfaction 'that I leave my children in an orderly way; 'and that they have less need of me than when 'my affairs were entangled.' It may be re- marked that her eldest daughter, by her former husband, had been about eight years married to William Penn. It is probable that he had received with her the estate of Worminghurst in Sussex, where he appears to have been re- siding when he set out, in 1677, for his travels in Holland and Germany; yet one expression of his renders it dubious. 'The next day I went to 'my *own* mother's in Essex.' This seems to de- note that Worminghurst still belonged to Mary Penington; yet on his return he says, 'I went 'to Worminghurst, my house in Sussex.'

Some time after settling her outward affairs, Mary Penington went to visit her younger chil- dren, then at School at Edmonton; and was there

laid up with a fever, which had the appearance of proving mortal. She thus describes her condition. 'It pleased the Lord—to visit me with 'a violent, burning fever, beyond any I had felt 'since I was born. Indeed it was very tedious, 'insomuch that I made my moan in these doleful words, Distress! Distress! feeling that those 'words comprehended sickness, uneasiness, want 'of rest, ill accommodations in the place, together with the continual noise of the school, 'and but little attendance, and the thought of 'being so far from home, where I should not 'have wanted any alleviation that could be procured.'——'I had scarce time or ability in all 'this illness, to have spent a quarter of an hour 'in settling my worldly affairs, if they had 'been to do; but such was the kindness and 'mercy of the Lord to me, that he put it 'into my heart to consider, that it might so 'happen that I should not return home, as it 'was with my dear husband: that so I might be 'prepared to wait on the Lord in my sickness, 'and, if it was his will, to lay down this body, 'without any distraction from outward concerns. These memorable dealings of the Lord 'with me, I now recount, in an humble sense of 'his mercy: being in my bed, unrecovered of 'my forementioned illness, which has now been 'of about three months' continuance.' Thus did this pious woman appear to obey the apostolic injunction "In every thing, give thanks, for "this is the will of God in Christ Jesus con-

"cerning you."—But hear her go on, 'And 'now it is in my heart, in the holy fear of the 'Lord, to declare to you, my dear children, of 'what service it is to me in my sickness, that I 'have nothing to do, but to die. For the Lord 'was pleased to assure me of his favour, and 'that I should not go down to the pit with the 'wicked, but should have a mansion, according 'to his good pleasure, in his holy habitation: 'the knowledge of which kept me in a quiet 'frame, free from the sting of death, and with-'out the least desire to live. Yet I did not 'witness any measure of triumph or joy; never-'theless I could often say, It is enough, in that 'I am still, and have not a thought day or night, 'of any thing that is to be done, in preparation 'for my going hence.' These consoling declarations were written at home, whither she had, though ill, been able to arrive about eleven weeks after the attack of fever at Edmonton; but it seems clear that she had been previously unwell, for in another writing dated two months after this, she speaks of the duration of illness as of nearly a year; and there is ground to believe that the stone was one of the means of her bodily affliction. 'This morning' (says she, 27th Fourth month, 1681), 'as I was waiting 'on the Lord with some of my family, I found 'an inclination in my mind to mention the 'continuance of my illness unto this day; which, 'from the time of my being first visited with it, 'wants not many weeks of a year; in all which

'time, such was the goodness of the Lord to
'me, that, as it was said of Job, 'In all this he
"sinned not, nor charged God foolishly,' so
'I may say, through the presence of his power
'with me, In all this time I have not felt a mur-
'muring nor complaining mind. But this hath
'been my constant frame, It is well I have no
'grievous things to undergo, except in these
'late fits of the stone, which have been full of
'anguish and misery; in which time of extreme
'suffering, I have earnestly cried to the Lord
'for help and direction for means of removing
'my pain. These seasons excepted, I have not
'asked any thing of the Lord concerning life or
'health; but have rather felt a satisfaction in
'being debarred of every thing that might be
'acceptable to my senses. The Lord hath gra-
'ciously stopped my desires after every pleasant
'thing, so that I have not been uneasy in this
'my long confinement; for the most part to my
'bed, and to this present day to my chamber;
'in which I have had but little comfort either
'from food or sleep. Yet I am not solicitous
'for health or strength, the relish of my food or
'refreshment from rest; nor yet for ability to
'walk about my house, or into the air, to take
'a view of the beautiful creation; because in
'this tried state I have been near to the Lord,
'with much less distraction than when I was in
'health. And many times I have said within
'myself, Oh! this is very sweet and easy, thus
'to witness the Lord to make my bed in my

'sickness; and hold my eyes waking to con-
'verse with him!—Death has been many times
'before me. I have rather entreated it, than
'shrunk from it, having generally found in my
'spirit a kind of yielding to die: as it is some-
'times expressed, 'He yielded up the ghost.'

'My mind has been' [was] 'attended with
'fearful apprehensions of death all my days, I
'may say, till I came to be settled in the Truth,
'and lived under a happy subjection to it; but
'now the fear of death, that is, as to my state
'after death, is at this present removed; but
'there remains a deep sense of that passage,
'how hard, strait, and difficult, it is many times,
'even to those over whom the second death hath
'no power.'

It however doth not appear that this sickness ended in her dissolution, at least that it was the means of confining her for the remainder of her time, to the house. She lived more than a year after this, and departed at Worminghurst in Sussex, the 18th of the Seventh month, 1682. It is probable her remains also were interred at Jordan's, as her decease is registered in the same register as that of her husband.

A

REVIEW

OF THE

WRITINGS

OF

ISAAC PENINGTON.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART 1.

A REVIEW of those published before he joined the SOCIETY of FRIENDS.

PART 2.

A REVIEW of those which he published after that period, or which have been published in the Collection of his Works since his decease.

PART I.

A

REVIEW

OF THE

WRITINGS

OF

ISAAC PENINGTON,

Published before he joined the

Society of Friends.

REVIEW, &c.

PART I.

Review of the writings of Isaac Penington before he became a member of the Society of Friends.

IT has been seen that Isaac Penington commenced author, before he commenced a professor with the Society of Friends. The following pieces of his issued from the press prior to that event.

1. A touchstone or tryall of faith by the originall from whence it springs, and the root out of which it grows; held out by way of exposition of the 12 and 13 verses of the first chapter of John's gospel, and of the six former verses of the third chapter, which treat expressly about this point: intended not for the disquiet of any, but for the eternall rest and peace of all, to whom the Lord shall please to make it useful thereunto. To which is added, the spirituall practice of Christians in the primitive times. 4to. 1648.

Our author was then about thirty-two years old. The texts upon which he descanted, as well

as his manner of explaining them, indicate that a preparation of heart had then begun in him, for the reception of the doctrines of a people who have so much relinquished outward ceremonies as Friends have done. The two verses of John i. are thus: "But as many as received "him, to them gave he power to become the "sons of God, even to them that believe on his "name; which were born, not of blood, nor of "the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, "but of God." The other passage is part of the remarkable conference of our Lord with Nicodemus; in opening which, Isaac Penington thus explains the being "born of water," or rather what is meant by water. 'By water,' says he, 'is 'meant the knowledge of God in Christ, the sight 'of God in the face of Christ, wherein eternall 'life consists. 'If thou hadst known the gift of "God, &c. thou wouldest have asked of him, "and he would have given thee living water,' '&c. John iv. 10. What is this living water? 'Why 'this is life eternal, to know thee the "only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou "hast sent." John xvii. 8. The heavenly doc-'trine of life and salvation is often expressed 'in scripture by this tearm of Water. 'My "doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech "shall distill as the dew." Deut. xxxii. 2. and 'Isa. lv. 10. Heb. vi. 7. As God is the foun-'tain, whence all the life and sweetnesse of 'the creature flows, whether naturall (Isa. 'lxv. 9), or spirituall (Jer. ii. 13), so those

' beames of eternall light, those streamings forth ' of life, which issue out from God, in the know- ' ledge of Jesus Christ, they are waters from ' this fountaine. 2. What it is to be born of ' water. It notes that fundamental and radicall ' change, which is made in the heart by the ' power of the truths of Christ, conveyed thi- ' ther, and working there,' which he goes on to describe more at large.—Water, thus defined, being the means of regeneration, he describes the Spirit as the agent who applies them. Thus he seemed then to have made a near approach to the tenets, in which he afterwards lived and died.—The spiritual practice of Christians in the primitive times, is drawn from Ephes. iv. 2. as consisting in humbleness, meekness, long-suffering, and forbearing one another in love.

His next piece has this singular title:

2. The great and sole troubler of the times, represented in a mapp of miserie: or a glimps at the heart of man, which is the fountain from whence all misery flows, and the source into which it runs back. Drawn with a dark pencil, by a dark hand, in the midst of darkness. 4to. 1649.

It is a discourse, systematically arranged on Jer. xvii. 9, 10. " The heart is deceitful above " all things, and desperately wicked: who can " know it? I, the Lord, search the heart, I try " the reins." The preface turns upon the propensity of parties and persons, to detect each

other's faults and to overlook their own. The body of the work shows the pride, covetousness, envy, unrighteousness, enmity, cruelty, unbelief, and hypocrisy, that prevail in the hearts of men.

Our author's next piece of which we have an account, and of which copies remain, is

3. A voyce out of the thick darkness: containing in it a few words to Christians, about the late and present posture of spiritual affairs among them: together with a postscript about darkening the counsel of God: as also some scripture-prophecies concerning some transactions in the later times. 4to. 1650.

A specimen of this work has already been given at page 3. In the title-page of this work he calls himself Isaac Penington (junior), Esq. which title is also in several other of his books; but dropped when he became a Friend. It is a title that is now lavished on persons having no claim to it, and with little distinction; but which, I think, should not be assumed by Friends, above all men. It is supposed to be derived from *scutifer*, through the French word, *écuyer*; and it is generally rendered in law-latin, *armiger*. Thus its military cast renders it peculiarly unsuitable for us.

The next piece also has a remarkable title.

4. Light or darkness, displaying or hiding itself, as it pleaseth, and from or to whom it pleaseth: arraigning, judging, condemning, both the shame and glory of the creature, in all its se-

veral breakings forth from, and appearances in, the creature: held forth to publike view in a sermon, a letter, and several other openings. 4to. 1650.

With reference to this are the pieces called

5. Severall fresh inward openings (concerning severall things) which the day will declare of what nature they are, to which judgment they appeal for justice, being contented either to stand or fall by it: and being likewise ready to kiss that condemnation which they are likely to meet with in the mean time, from all sorts of men, whom they finde ready to deal hardly with them. 4to. 1650.

And

6. An Echo from the great deep, containing further inward openings, concerning divers other things, upon some whereof the principles and practices of the mad folks do much depend: as also the life, hope, safety, and happiness of the Seed of God is pointed at, which, through many dark, dismal, untrodden paths and passages (as particularly through an unthought of death and captivity) they shall at length be led unto. 4to. 1650.

These appear to be deep cogitations in a deeply exercised mind; and often expressed in terms at which even the pious at this day would revolt, and which the wise would contemn. But it seems to be the author's object to lay in the dust all the wisdom, as well as all the righteous-

ness of man, that immovable and eternal righteousness may be produced and remain. In a superficial glance over these pieces (for I do not pretend to have read them through), the following short definition claimed my attention. 'To 'trust God with all one is, or hopes, for ever, 'this is true faith.' In another place the undermentioned thoughts occur. 'O shallow man, 'when wilt thou cease measuring God by the eye 'of thy reason? Wilt thou say it must be thus and 'thus, because thou canst not see how it can be 'otherwise?'—A proper query for the great reasoners of this age!—We may also find another beautiful definition of faith. 'Faith is the 'divine instinct of the new nature in the new 'creature; whereby it naturally knoweth, and 'goeth forth towards God as its centre.'——'O 'man,' says he in another place, 'Behold thy 'Saviour. Know thy life. Do not despise 'eternity, because of its appearing in, and acting through, mortality. This is he who came 'to redeem thee, to be a propitiatory sacrifice 'for thee, and a pattern to thee. Art thou 'able to measure God in any work of his, through 'the creature? Thou knowest thou art not. 'Then why dost thou measure him so confidently in his greatest work, through his Christ, 'even the work of redemption, and so apparently contradict him in it?' The mere man of reason would probably charge all these writings with mysticism. It is probable that they will find the most ready answer in the mind that

has undergone the deepest hidden distress. The last of them, however, seems the most free from the unusual stile which pervades the two former, and may probably have been written when the author's broken spirit was in some degree again bound up.

7. The fundamental right, safety, and liberty of the people (which is radically in themselves, derivatively in the parliament, their substitutes or representatives) briefly asserted. Wherein is discovered the great good or harm which may accrue unto the people by parliaments, according to their different temperature and motions. Together with some proposals conducing towards an equal and just settlement of the distracted state of this nation: as likewise a touch at some especial properties of a supream good governor or governors. 4to. 1651.

Of this tract a few extracts have been given in the course of these memoirs, p. 5 to 7, in order to show the benevolence and moderation of the author in matters relating to government. As, in his days, as well as in preceding and succeeding times, governments have assumed to themselves the regulating of religion, one more quotation may not be improper to show Isaac Penington's manner of speaking on that subject, before he had fallen under the oppression of laws made to coërce the liberty of conscience. He is speaking of two kinds of employment un-

suitable for parliaments. 'The one is,' says he, 'meddling with spiritual affairs. The constituting of these, the amending of these, the altering of these, is only proper to such as are invested with spiritual authority. The laws of Christ were never appointed to be set up by the power of man; but by the power of his Spirit in the conscience. It is accounted profane, and much startled at, to touch that which *man* hath made holy, which *man* hath separated and consecrated to divine use; and yet how propense are almost all persons to be laying hands on that which *God hath made holy and set apart for himself!*'

8. The life of a Christian, which is a lamp kindled and lighted from the love of Christ, and most naturally discovereth its original, by the purity, integrity, and fervency of its motion, in love to its fellow-partners in the same life: briefly displayed in this its peculiar, and distinguishing strain of operation. Also some few catechistical questions concerning the way of salvation by Christ. Together with a postscript about religion. 4to. 1653.

A part of this is a diffuse exposition of some of those passages in the 14th and 15th chap. of John, which relate to love. The author, noticing the sort of love enjoined to Christians, "As I have loved you," attempts to describe the love of Christ to man, as to its intensity, purity, and the peculiarity of its seeking out its enemies,

He shows the profitableness of this love; and gives some directions for the attainment. I am somewhat struck with the following lines near the conclusion. 'There is yet a more excellent 'way, and more excellent things than are now 'thought of, which will be manifested in due 'time. But it is very dangerous striving to 'ascend up to them aforehand: the sweetest 'and safest way is to wait the season of their 'descent. The deep sense of the want where-'of, with an assured expectation, and quiet 'waiting and groaning for, is the best strain of 'religion, of the purest stamp, of any I know 'extant.'

In the postscript, I meet with one of those passages, which show that the profession of religion under which Isaac Penington at length settled, was not altogether a strange and novel thing to him. Speaking of the difference of the light which the primitive Christians had, from that which satisfied the professors of his time, he says, 'We reason ourselves into truths 'and practices, as any other man might do. I 'do not say that this should not be done; for 'the human spirit is to go along, and to have 'its own light with it too; but I cannot but say, 'that this is not enough.'

9. A considerable question about government (of very great importance in reference to the state of the present times) briefly discussed, With a necessary advice to the governors and governed. 4to, 1653.—1 sheet.

The author thus states his question. 'The 'question is this: Which is better, both for 'the good, safety and welfare, both of the go- 'vernors and governed, Absolute, or Limited 'authority?'

'Absoluteness is a full power of government 'without interruption, without rendering an 'account, residing in the breast, will, or con- 'science of the governor or governors.'

'Limitation is a circumscribing of this power 'within such certain bounds as the people, for 'whose sake and benefit government is, shall 'think fit to confine it unto, for their good and 'security.'

After showing the benefit of absolute govern- ment from its prompt execution, and ready remedy for unforeseen evils; and on the other hand its proneness to degenerate into tyranny, he gives it as the plain result, that 'Absoluteness 'is best in itself, but limitations are safest for 'the present condition of man.' His advice to the governors is, 'That they undertake not to 'bring forth that which is not in them': show- ing how the Long Parliament had failed; and doubting the army, then in power. His advice to the governed is, 'Expect not that fruit from 'your governors, the root of which is not in 'them. Did man ever bring forth righteous- 'ness and peace? Have ye not yet had enough 'of looking for reformation and amendment of 'things, from this or that party?' Finally, he

shows that nothing but the Spirit of Christ can settle the nation.—It is a lively little piece.

10.—Divine Essays, or considerations about several things in Religion of very deep and weighty concernment, both in reference to the state of the present times, as also of the Truth itself. With a lamenting and pleading postscript.' 4to. 1654. 17 sheets.

These essays are divided into the following sections: '1. Of knowledge in general. 2. 'Scripture-knowledge. 3. Radical or original 'knowledge. 4. Of the Word, the Spirit, and 'faith, under each administration, both that of 'the law, and that of the gospel, with a hint at 'their further tendency. 5. Some few observations touching the principles of the Ranters. '6. Of the various false new births and the true 'one, which are distinguished by their root and 'nature. 7. Of the true nature and vertue of 'the kingdom of God. 8. Of the weakness, 'uncertainty and invalidity of the flesh, in reference to the things of God. 9. Of the certainty of Christ, in his knowledge concerning 'the things of God, and particularly of his well 'grounded testimony concerning the way to 'life: and consequently of the certainty of the 'knowledge and testimony of his seed in their 'generations, they being of the same life and 'nature with him. 10. Of the liberty of the 'kingdom, which was outward and shadowy in 'that dispensation of the gospel by Christ and

'his apostles; but inward and substantial, both 'before, then, and after that dispensation, yea, 'and for ever: which liberty, although it be 'very large, yet is limited by the law of its own 'life and nature. 11. Of the low ebb, which 'the Lord Christ was brought to, by his death 'and sufferings. 12. Of the low estate, which 'the seed of Christ are reduced to, by their 'death and sufferings. 13. The course and end 'of man. 14. The happy end of the holy 'nature and course of the Seed of life, which 'the Spirit of life, through all the various dark 'paths of sin, death and misery, most faithfully 'guideth it unto: or, The sweet and happy end 'of the righteous.'

It is probable that there will appear in the tenth head, an incongruous expression. I refer to the word shadowy, as applied to the gospel.

In the following passage, taken from the post-script, the author appears to have made a near approach to that faith, in which he afterwards lived and finished his course.

'O consider this, if ye love your souls! It is 'not a building upon Christ after the flesh (it 'is not either a beleeving or obeying from any 'rational knowledg, from a knowledg of the 'understanding, though the heart and affections 'be never so much heated therewith, accom-'panying it never so vigourously) which will 'save any man; but *a building of a new nature 'upon the new nature of Christ.* It must be a 'building of a new nature, for Christ saveth

'*his* building, his people, his seed, his church: 'and it must be built or founded upon the new 'nature of Christ; for Christ himself saveth, '*not according to the oldness of the letter, but* '*according to the newness of the Spirit.*'

11.—Expositions, with observations sometimes, on severall Scriptures. Divided into four parts. 1. An Exposition on Christ's sermon, as it is related in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew's gospel. 2. The sum or substance of Jerusalem's song of triumph, being an exposition of the first ten verses of the second chapter of the first book of Samuel. 3. A basket of fragments, containing chiefly expositions upon particular select scriptures, somewhat promiscuously set down. 4. An exposition on the first epistle of John.—4to. 1656. about 94 sheets.

The first, second, and fourth of these divisions are on the general plan of expositors. The verse is first recited, and then the exposition; which is for the most part diffuse. The third part is written on a different plan, and has the following subdivisions:

'1. The right enterance into true wisdom, From Prov. ix. 10.

2. The true way of sight and the things most desirable to be seen. Ephes. i. 17, 18, 19.

3. The cleer light and sight of God. Psal. cxxxix. 12.

4. The first tipe of the two seeds. Gen. iv. 1 to 13.

5. The transient, yet present light. 2 Pet. i. 19.

6. Christ, the universal light. John i. 9.

7. The times of refreshment. Acts iii. 19.

8. A distinction about Orphanship. John xiv. 18.

9. The ground of the world's hatred against the seed of Christ, or the true and chief ground of persecution, which alwaies hath been and still is the ground, though it was never so acknowledged: from John xv. 19.

10. The best defence against the world or worldly spirit, which is the wisdom and innocency of the renewed spirit. Mat. x. 16.

11. Two questions concerning Christ.

12. The anointing and function of Christ. Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, 3.

13. The sweet invitation, reproof, and direction of Christ, to wandering souls. Isaiah lv. 1, 2, 3.

14. The sweetness, goodness, and kindness of God's nature, with its great efficacy in the day of his power. Psal. xxxvi. 7, 8, 9.

15. A Tast of the breathings, pantings, waitings, and hopes of Israel after the true Saviour, and his effectual redemption. Psal. lxxxv.

16. The two main props and pipes of Faith: viz. Knowledg and Experience.

17. The distresse and perplexity of Sion; her fidelity therein, and her faithful comforter and

deliverer; represented in some declarations from ch. li. of Isaiah.

18. The proper nature, and sweet benefits of afflictions. Heb. xii. 11.

19. The design and work of God in all his dispensations, with a glance at the mistery of this design and work. Ezek. xvii. 24.

20. Man's way to life rejected, and a way of a different nature made choice of by God. 1 Cor. i. 21 to 26.

21. The wisdom of God despised and rejected, even in all its appearances, by the spirit of this world: but still justified by the light and spirit of life in his children. Matth. xi. 16 to 20.

22. Man's right temper and practice. Eccles. xii. 12, 13.

23. The severity of God against corrupt shepherds, who will rescue his flock from them. Ezek. xxxiv. 2.

24. The estate of Christ's kingdom at his coming, as it is represented in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. Matth. xxv. 1 to 13.

25. Brief observations on part of the first chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians; but chiefly on those verses which concern the great Rest or Salvation, and the great Trouble or Destruction, both which are, in the end, to be impartially opened and dispensed.

26. The danger of exaltation of a man's spirit over others. Matth. v. 22.

27. The conclusion, containing a brief relation concerning myself; with a faithful beam of

light which may be of service to such, as are not yet translated out of the dark spirit of this world into the true light of life.'

This large volume, like all Penington's early writings, is out of print, and not likely to be again edited. I have never seen more than two copies of it. As a specimen, though short and slight, of the author's manner and temper of mind, I present the reader with an extract from the 14th section of the 'Basket of Fragments,' entitled, 'On the sweetness, goodness, and kind-'ness of God's nature,' &c. being an exposition of the 7th, 8th, and 9th verses of the 36th Psalm. The 7th verse is this: "How excellent is thy "loving-kindness, O God! therefore the chil-"dren of men put their trust under the shadow "of thy wings."

'The children of men are in a weary land, 'in a scorching and tempestuous country, in a 'city closely besieged and scanty of provision: 'they want shade, they want shelter, they want 'rescue, they want relief. The enemy perse-'cuteth them, yea, hath seized upon their life 'and is devouring it. Their precious soul is 'daily hunted and taken. They are made very 'miserable by enemies and dangers, both within 'and without them: which though few at pre-'sent discern particularly, yet it is so plainly 'written in the state of all men, that he that 'runs may read it. For what man can fly from 'the death of his body? Or what man can endure 'or escape the pains of the death of his soul?

'O, how will men cry to the mountains to fall 'on them, and to the rocks to cover them, when 'once their misery approacheth! Surely, surely, 'very precious will be a shelter in the day of 'calamity! Now God hath wings, such wings 'as cast a shadow sufficient to shelter the sons 'of men from all misery. They are a proper 'help, a proper relief, from sin, from death, 'from hel, from whatsoever can affright or 'afflict poor miserable man. They can cover 'man, and keep him secure from all that can 'disturb him. And when once man comes to 'be sensible of this, to understand his own 'need, the sutableness of this remedy for him, 'and the great kindness of God in affording it 'him, he will speedily resort unto it, 'There-"fore do the children of men,' &c. *Therefore:* 'Because of thy kindness, because of the excel-'lency of thy kindness, because of the openness 'of thy nature to that which is miserable, and 'which none can help. There is that in the 'nature of God which (were it discovered to 'them) the whole creation could not but trust, 'only it is hid from their eyes, which necessi-'tateth for the present this course of misery.'— '*Therefore:* Because of the excellency of its 'nature, because the children of men see the 'truth and fullnesse of this kindnesse; they see 'it to be such, as that it is impossible for it to 'refuse the relief of any thing that runneth to 'it ('Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise "cast out'), therefore do they seek shelter

'under it, and with confidence repose their
'weary souls under it, and with confidence re-
'pose their weary souls there. Indeed, if it
'were but a kindness of man, though raised to
'never so great a degree, there were not suffi-
'cient ground to trust it.'

—— 'But such is the nature of God, that
'were it but known, it could not but be trusted.
'So kind is God that the greatest sinner who is
'most obnoxious to him, did he but know him,
'would not fear to put himself into his hands.'

Isaac Penington (as is mentioned at page 23) had at one time imbibed the doctrine of election and reprobation, which, as generally understood, consigns to destruction the majority of mankind; but when he wrote the volume under review, he seems to have given up that doctrine so far, as not to be willing to allow the reprobation of any.—An account has already been given of his attainments in religion, and how all the fabric which he had reared was broken suddenly to pieces. In the conclusion of the part from which these quotations are made, he recounts this overthrow, and thus describes his state when writing. 'My soul boweth down
'before him, blessing his name. Good is the
'hand of the Lord! Most holy, righteous, sweet,
'and kind is his severity and wrath. But my
'heart and tongue are not yet prepared to
'speak these things. I will therefore cease, lest
'he judg me again for taking his name in vain.
'I am now a dark thing, still in the dark, being

' neither what I formerly was, nor yet formed ' into a vessel by the potter: not yet perfectly ' broken (though to my own sence perfectly ' broken long ago); and very little made up.'

Another touch or two extracted from another part of this large volume, namely, the 'Exposition on Christ's Sermon', may form an agreeable addition to the foregoing.

' *As we forgive our debtors.*] This is a strong ' argument with the Father, to move him to for- ' give; and to the child, to believe its pardon. ' He that hath taught us to forgive, will he not ' forgive us? Can we find a readiness in our ' spirits, to remit the offences of others; and ' can we possibly imagine that God can want it? ' Certainly he that hath wrought this in us, ' hath also left it remaining in himself. He to ' whom God hath given a spirit of forgiving, ' who cannot but forgive those who offend him, ' may well expect to reap the same measure ' from God: whose nature engageth him more ' to forgive his children, than any nature de- ' rived from him can teach any to forgive such ' as injure and provoke them. He who finds ' this wrought in him, hath strong ground to ' believe that God himself cannot but bear the ' same temper of spirit in himself, towards him, ' which he hath wrought in him towards others'.

Again, from ch. 7.

' *Judge not.*] Observ. A judging temper is ' not fit for a disciple, in the eye of Christ. ' Judging is not an action beseeming a disciple:

' is not such an action as Christ alloweth in
' him.'

' There are two things exceeding lovely in a
' disciple, both whereof this is contrary unto.
' The first is, *A brokenness of spirit in himself,*
' *for his own vileness.* Though a man be par-
' doned for his sin; yet the sight of what he
' was, the remembrance of what was blotted out
' in him (nay of what is still in him and upon
' him, further than the Lord pleaseth of his
' own free goodness to blot it out continually),
' should keep him very low in his own eyes;
' even as low as if he were still lying under the
' guilt and condemnation of it. The second is,
' *A pity and tenderness of spirit towards sinners.*
' He who knoweth the bitterness of his own
' wound, although he be in part healed himself,
' yet cannot but yearn over those who remain
' still exposed to the bitterness of the same
' wound. How did Christ pity sinners, even the
' most stubborn sinners! ' O Jerusalem, Jerusa-
" lem,' &c. The more men lie open to judg-
' ment, doth not afford us the more liberty
' of judging them; but the more it should ex-
' cite our pity. It no way becomes a con-
' demned person newly pardoned, to judg his
' fellow-offenders; but to pity them, and to lie
' abased under the sense of his own desert,
' which, by the meer mercy of the judg, he
' hath lately escaped the danger of.'

PART II.

A

REVIEW

OF THE

WRITINGS

OF

ISAAC PENINGTON,

Published after he joined the SOCIETY *of* FRIENDS, *or which have been published in the Collection of his Works since his decease.*

REVIEW, &c.

PART II.

Review of the writings of Isaac Penington after he joined the Society of Friends, or which have been published in the Collection of his Works since his decease.

IN giving an account of the writings of Isaac Penington after he had joined the Society of Friends, I cannot engage to enter *much* into their contents. Such a plan would swell the catalogue itself into a volume of no inconsiderable size; and is the less needful as the titles of them are generally diffuse. The first is

1. The way of Life and Death made manifest, and set before men; whereby the many paths of death are impleaded, and the one path of life propounded and pleaded for: in some positions concerning the apostasy from the Christian spirit and life: with some principles guiding out of it: as also an answer to some objections whereby the simplicity in some may be entangled: held forth in tender good-will both to Papists and Protestants who have generally erred from the faith for these many generations, since the days of the apostles; and with that which they have erred from are they comprehended.—4to. 1658. 14 sheets.

The first edition has in it a piece by Edward Burrough, and one by George Fox. These are omitted in the edition of Penington's works.

The positions are as follow:

'1. That there hath been a great apostasy 'from the Spirit of Christ, and from the true 'light and life of Christianity: which apostasy 'began in the apostles' days, and ripened apace 'afterwards.'

'2. That in this great apostasy, the true state 'of Christianity hath been lost.'

'3. That there is to be a recovery, a true re-'covery, out of this state of apostasy, into the 'true state of Christianity again.'

'4. That they that are in those things which 'have been set up in the times of the apostasy, 'are not yet come to the recovery from the 'apostasy.'

5. That the only way of recovery out of the 'apostasy is by returning to, and keeping in, 'that Spirit from which the apostasy was.'

The principles mentioned in the title are these,

'1. That there is no salvation but by the true 'knowledge of Christ.'

'2. That Christ saves by the new covenant.'

'3. That the new covenant is written in the 'heart.'

'4. That the Spirit of God alone can write 'the covenant in the heart.'*

L.

* 'Or, that Christ writes the covenant by his Spirit.'

'5. Therefore the first proper step in religion, 'is to know how to meet with God's Spirit.'

'6. The first way of meeting with the Spirit 'of God, is as a convincer of sin.'

'7. That whereby the Spirit of God con- 'vinceth of sin, is his light, shining in the con- 'science.'

'8. That this light convincing of sin shineth 'in every conscience.'

'9. The true way to life eternal is by believ- 'ing in the light of the Spirit, which shineth in 'the conscience.'

'10. That believing in the light of the Spirit 'which shines in the conscience, unites the 'soul to God, and opens the springs of life to 'it.'

These principles as well as the five positions, are discussed at large. Objections to this doctrine are answered, and there is a particular discussion of the important topic, Justification.

2. The scattered sheep sought after. First, in a lamentation over the general loss of the powerful presence of God in his people, since the days of the Apostles; with a particular bewailing of the withering and death of those precious buddings-forth of life, which appeared in many at the beginning of the late troubles in these nations; with the proper way of recovery for such. Secondly, in some propositions concerning the only way of salvation; where is an answer given to that great objection, *That the light which convinceth of*

sin, is the light of a natural conscience; and a brief account rendered of the ground of men's understanding scriptures. Thirdly, in exposing to view the fundamental principle of the gospel, upon which the redeemed spirit is built. Fourthly, and in some questions and answers (by way of catechism for the sake of the simple-hearted) directing to that principle, and fixing in it. 4to. 1659, 4 sheets. 2d edit. 1665.

The propositions concerning the only way to salvation are the following four:

'1. That there is no way of being saved from 'sin, and wrath eternal, but by that Christ 'alone which died at Jerusalem.'

'2. That there is no way of being saved by 'him, but through receiving him into the heart 'by a living faith, and having him formed in 'the heart.'

'3. That there is no way of receiving Christ 'into the heart, and of having him formed 'there, but by receiving the light of his Spirit, 'in which light he is, and dwells.'

'4. That the way of receiving the light of the 'Spirit into the heart (and thereby uniting with 'the Father and the Son), is by hearkening to 'and receiving its convictions of sin there.'

The fundamental principle of the Gospel is held forth in that passage in the 1st epist. of John. "This then is the message which we have heard "of him, and declare unto you, That God is light, "and in him is no darkness at all." It is not

easy to abridge the catechism. The following winds up the whole. 'Let thy religion be to 'feel the pure principle of life in the pure 'vessel of life; for the eye must be pure that 'sees the life, and the heart that receives it. 'And faith is a pure mystery, and it is only held 'in a pure conscience. Know that in thee that 'purifies thee; and then thou knowest Christ, 'and the Father, and the Spirit; and as that 'lives, and grows up in thee, so shalt thou 'know their dwelling-place, and partake of 'their life and fulness.'

3. Babylon the Great described, the city of confusion, in every part whereof anti-christ reigns; which knoweth not the order and unity of the Spirit, but striveth to set up an order and uniformity according to the wisdom of the flesh, in all her territories and dominions; her sins, her judgments: with some plain queries further to discover her; and some considerations to help out of her suburbs, that her inward building may lie the more open to the breath and Spirit of the Lord, from which it is to receive its consumption and overthrow. 4to. 1659. 8 sheets.

The preface to this work is another account of the author's religious conflicts and experiences. The work itself appears to be a close reproof of all the semblances of religion which have been formed and worshipped in the world; and great use is made of the figure of a city, and of the mystery of the beast, whore, &c. mentioned in

the Apocalypse, which are, in many particulars, explained, according to the sense given to the author.

4. The Jew outward; being a glass for the professors of this age, wherein, if they read with meekness, and in the true light, such of them as have not overslipped the day of their visitation, may see their own spirits, to their own everlasting advantage and comfort, by learning subjection to that which hath power in it to destroy the evil spirit in them: containing some exceptions and arguments of the Jews against Christ's appearance in that body of flesh in their days; which the present professors may view and compare with their exceptions and arguments against his appearance in spirit in this age; that they may see and consider which of them are the more weighty. 4to. 1659, 4 sheets.

The drift of this piece is to show that, in like manner as the Jews rejected Christ, because their knowledge and expectations were outward, and gathered from their fleshly comprehension of the prophecies concerning him; so the wise professors of the seventeenth century rejected and persecuted his life, as it appeared in their day; and that the natural effect, in every age, of walking according to the flesh, is to persecute that which is born of the Spirit. The analogy of the two cases is exhibited in a striking point of view; the reasoning upon it close and pertinent; and the scripture-references remarkably apposite.

5. The axe laid to the root of the old corrupt tree; and the spirit of deceit struck at in its nature; from whence all the error from the life, among both papists and protestants, hath arisen, and by which it is nourished and fed at this day: in a distinction between the faith which is of man, and the faith which is of God: and in some assertions concerning true faith, its nature, rise, &c. its receiving of Christ, and its abiding and growing in his living virtue: with a warning concerning adding to, and diminishing from, the Scripture in general, and the prophecies of the Revelations in particular: discovering what it is, and the great danger of it, with the only way of preservation from it. Whereto is added, a short touch about the use of means; as also, a brief history concerning the state of the church since the days of the Apostles: with an exhortation to the present age. By the movings of the life, in a friend to the living Truth of the most high God; but an utter enemy to the spirit of error and blasphemy, where-ever it is found, as well in the strictest of the Protestants, as among the grossest of the Papists.—4to. 1659. Six and a half sheets.

This makes the fourth in one year. It is a very close, searching work. Much of it is employed in detecting the marks of the false church, in the various forms under which it has appeared; and the deceivableness of unrighteousness is set forth by copious allusions to the book of the Reve-

lation. The author seems aware that his doctrine will find difficult entrance into the minds of such as are satisfied with any thing short of the pure life; and may even induce some of those who are seeking it, to doubt whether they are not deceived; for he supposes the following objection, '*How difficult do you make the way to life, 'if not utterly impossible? If all this be true, 'who can be saved?*'

Answ. 'The way to life *is* very difficult; yea, 'and impossible to that part in man, which is 'so busy in willing and running towards life; 'but it is as easy on the other hand, to that 'which the Father begetteth, raiseth up, and 'leadeth. 'The wayfaring man, though a fool, "shall not err.' The wisest and richest mer-'chants in Babylon cannot set one step in it. 'The least child in Sion cannot err there. There-'fore, know that in thyself to which it is so hard; 'and know that which God hath given to thee, 'which will make it easy. Thou hast a living 'talent given thee by God: let not thine 'eye be drawn from that; but join to that, 'keep there, and thou art safe; and that will 'open thine eye to see all deceits, just in the 'very season and hour of temptation. For thou 'must expect to meet with all these temptations, 'as thy growth makes thee capable of receiving 'them. And as they come, the true eye being 'kept open, they will be seen; and being seen, 'they will easily be avoided in the power of 'life; for in vain the net is spread in sight

'of the bird. Therefore that thou mayest be 'safe,

'1. Know the light, the eternal light of life, 'the little glimmerings and shinings of it in thy 'soul This comes from the rock, to lead thee 'to the rock: and if thou wilt follow it, it will 'fix thee upon the rock, where thou canst not be 'shaken.'

'2. Keep in the light, keep within the hedge, 'step not out of thine own; keep out of the 'circumference of the spirit of deceit; the 'power of whose witchery and sorcery extends 'all over the regions of darkness.'

'3. Love simplicity, love the nakedness of 'life, stand single in the honesty of the heart; 'out of the intricate, subtil reasonings, and wise 'consultings about things; for by these means 'the serpent comes to twine about and deceive 'thy soul; but in the simplicity of the movings 'of life, in the light, lies the power, the strength, 'the safety.'

'4. Lie very low continually, even at the foot 'of the lowest breathing and appearances of the 'light. Take heed of being above that wherein 'the life lies; for the wisdom, the power, the 'strength, yea, the great glory lies in the hu-'mility; and thou must never be exalted, thou 'must never come out of the humility, but find 'and enjoy the honour and glory of the life, in 'the humility.'

'5. Mind the reproofs of the light; for that 'will still be setting thee to rights. That will

'still be bringing down that which would get
'up above; and there lies the preservation.
'Oh the chastenings of the light, the sweet
'chastenings of the love by the light! These
'are healing stripes! This brings down the
'exalter, and that in thee which loves to be
'exalted, and to be seeking the honour of the
'spiritual riches, before the humility is per-
'fected.'

'Thus, in love to souls, have I poured out
'my soul before the Lord, and held forth
'gentle leadings, even to the most stubborn and
'stiff-necked.'

In John Whiting's Catalogue, comes in next,

6. To the Parliament, the Army, and all the well-affected in the nation, *who have been faithful to the good old Cause.* 1659. Half a sheet.

In Whiting the title ends at 'nation,' and the piece itself is omitted in the Quarto edition. The author reproves the army for having forsaken their first principles, and having served the ends of interest and power to themselves; and exhorts the parliament not to second such a disposition, but to act for the purposes of righteousness.

7. A Brief Account of some Reasons (amongst many that might be given) why those people called Quakers, cannot do some things on the one hand, and forbear doing of some things on the other hand; for which they have suffered, and do still suffer, so much violence from the

people, and such sore persecution from the teachers and magistrates of these nations: whereby it may appear to all, who are willing to take any fair consideration of their cause, that their sufferings are for righteousness sake, because of the integrity of their hearts towards God, and void of any just ground of offence towards man.—No date; published in a broad sheet; as was also,

8. Some Considerations proposed to the City of London, and the Nation of England, to calm their spirits, and prepare them to wait for what the Lord is bringing about, that they may not run headily into their ruin and destruction; and by this extraordinary heat of their spirits, kindle that fire which will soon devour them. With a short exhortation to them relating to their true settlement, and the removal of that which hinders it.

The two following were also published about this time.

9. Some Considerations proposed to the distracted Nation of England, concerning the present design and work of God therein; upon their submitting whereto doth their settlement alone depend, and not upon any form of government, or change of governors: as that spirit which seeketh their ruin tempteth them to believe.—1659.

10. To the Army. Very short.

11. A Question propounded to the Rulers, Teachers, and People of the Nation of England, for them singly to answer in their hearts and consciences, in the fear and dread of the mighty God of heaven and earth, &c. I abridge this long title, and insert a part of the question.

'When this nation was rent from popery (in 'part I mean; for wholly it was never rent, but 'did still remain in the same spirit; though by 'the magistrate's sword it was forced from that 'form and way of worship which the pope had 'established), did it wait on the Lord for the 'guidance of his Spirit and power, thereby to 'build up a true church and habitation for God 'in the Spirit? Or did it take such materials as 'were ready at hand, and frame up a building 'as well as it could, wherewith the consciences 'of many, that were tender-hearted towards 'God, were even then dissatisfied?' 4to. One sheet.

12. The Root of Popery struck at; and the true ancient apostolic foundation discovered; in some propositions to the papists, concerning fallibility and infallibility; which cut down the uncertain, and manifest the certain way of receiving and growing up into the Truth. Also, some Considerations concerning the true and false Church and Ministry, with the state of each since the days of the Apostles; held

forth in true love and pity to the souls of the papists, that they may hear and consider, and not mistake and stumble at the Rock of Ages, whereupon the prophets, apostles, and whole flock of God, throughout all generations, have been built. There is likewise somewhat added concerning the ground of error, and the way to truth and unity, for the sake of such as are more spiritual, and have been more inwardly exercised in searching after truth. 1660. 4to. Three sheets.

The propositions are these:

'1. That councils may err.'

'2. That the pope himself may err.'

'3. That every man may err, in his interpretation of scripture.'

'4. That if there be any light to be found any where shining from God, that light cannot err.'

'5. That there must necessarily be such a light, communicated to all men since the fall.'

'6. That this being let in, believed in, and obeyed, shineth more and more unto the perfect day; even until it hath wholly brought out of the error, into the truth.'

'7. That nothing less can lead unto eternal life than an eternal light in man's spirit.'

In this piece also is frequent reference to the description of the woman and the dragon, in the book of Revelations.

13. An Examination of the grounds or causes which are said to induce the court of Boston, in New-England, to make that order or law of banishment, upon pain of death, against the Quakers: as also of the grounds and considerations by them produced, to manifest the warrantableness and justness both of their making and executing the same; which they now stand deeply engaged to defend, having already thereupon put two of them to death. As also, of some further grounds for justifying of the same, in an appendix to John Norton's book (which was printed after the book itself, yet as part thereof); whereto he is said to be appointed by the general court. And likewise, of the arguments briefly hinted, in that which is called 'A true relation of the proceedings against the Quakers, &c.' Whereunto somewhat is added about the authority and government, Christ excluded out of his church; which occasioneth somewhat concerning the true church-government. 4to. 1660. Thirteen sheets.

I take this to be a choice piece, and far from being useless now, or at any time, because the immediate cause of its publication is done away. The reader will find in it some able defence and elucidation of the principles of Friends, clear refutation of the arguments for persecuting them, and much of the spirit of love and good-will to the persecutors. The matter is well summed up,

and the excluded, and the allowed authority of the church are well described.

14. A Warning of Love from the bowels of life, to the several generations of professors of this age, that they may awaken and turn towards the life, to be truly cleansed and saved by its powerful, living virtue, before the storm of wrath break forth, and the overflowing scourge overtake them, which will sweep away the strongest and most well-built refuge of lies; and sink those souls even into the pit of misery, which are there found when the storm comes: held forth in four propositions, assertions, or considerations, concerning man in his lost state, and his recovery out of it. 4to. 1660. One sheet.

This close piece may be epitomized by taking the four assertions, viz.

'1. That man is fallen from God.'

'2. That man, by all the imaginations that 'can enter into his heart, and by all the means 'he can use, or courses he can run, cannot re-'turn back to God again, or so much as desire 'it.'

'3. That all professions of God and of Christ 'upon the earth, all knowledge and beliefs what-'soever, with all practices of duties and ordi-'nances of worship, save only such as proceed 'from, and are held in, the pure life, are but 'as so many fig-leaves, or deceitful plasters,

'which may skin over the wound, but cannot 'truly heal it.'

'4. That the living seed of eternal life, which 'God hath hid in man underneath his earth, hath 'in it the living virtue, which alone can heal 'man, and restore him to God.'

The subject of this assertion, he also holds forth, in another part, which for its brevity and beauty, and soundness, I also transcribe.—'That 'which recovers man, is the eternal virtue, the 'endless power, the life immortal, the Christ of 'God.'

15. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? 4to. 1660. One sheet.

This text is the title of a piece, printed in his works like a postscript to the former; but it is evidently a distinct one, and is so noted in Whiting's Catalogue.

16. An Epistle to all such as observe the Seventh Day of the week for a Sabbath.—1660.

This is also a separate piece, but in the works is only to be found in the following:

17. The new Covenant of the Gospel distinguished from the old Covenant of the Law, and the Rest or Sabbath of Believers from the Rest or Sabbath of the Jews; which differ as much from each other, as the sign and shadow doth from the thing signified and shadowed out.

In answer to some queries of W. Salter's, tending to enforce upon Christians the observation of the Jewish sabbath, which was given under the law to the Jews for a sign: as also to some other queries sent in writing, upon occasion of an epistle directed to all such as observe the seventh day of the week for a sabbath, now under the gospel. As likewise some letters to the same purpose; with a brief explication of the mystery of the six days labour and seventh day's sabbath. Whereto are added, some considerations propounded to the Jews, tending towards their conversion to that which is the life and spirit of the law. 4to. 1660. Seven sheets: but the Considerations to the Jews occupy one, of which the pages begin afresh.

The first of the set of queries to which this book is an answer, is, 'Whether the fourth commandment, expressed Exod. xx. be not moral 'and perpetual, as well as the other nine be, 'yea or no?' Our author maintains the negative, and shows the spiritual nature of the Christian rest.

Next follows, in Whiting's Catalogue, but not in the works,

18. Some few Queries and Considerations proposed to the Cavaliers, being of weighty importance to them. 4to. No date. One sheet.

It seems to have been written soon after the Restoration, and is a calm and close expostulation with the prevailing party.—'O,' says he, 'that 'they could fear the Lord for his goodness; and 'that those that are fallen under them might fear 'him for his severity; and that we might all 'give over upbraiding, and fighting against one 'another, and every man fight against the lusts 'of his own heart; against pride, passion, envy, 'covetousness, hard-heartedness, oppression of 'men's consciences, doing to others what we 'would not receive from others, &c. for the 'hand of God is swift against the unrighteous 'spirit, and he overturns apace. And if this 'present settlement do not please him; but if 'this generation, after all their afflictions, prove 'themselves unworthy of his mercy, not letting 'fall what the hand of the Lord hath gone forth 'against, but thinking to settle again upon 'firmer foundations what God hath all this while 'been shaking; the Lord will laugh at their 'counsels and at their strength, and overturn 'them in a moment.'

The reader may compare this with the counsels, and with the overthrow, of the house of Stewart.

19. Some Queries concerning the work of God in the world, which is to be expected in the latter ages thereof; with a few plain words to the nation of England, tending towards stopping the future breakings-forth of God's wrath,

both upon the people and powers thereof; with an Advertisement relating to the present state of things. 4to. 1660. One sheet.

This is in some respects similar to the foregoing. Near the conclusion, the author says, 'It behoves this nation to consider what of Babylon may be found in it, and to part with it, that it may escape the plagues of Babylon, Rev. xviii. 4. which are very bitter, as ver. 7, 8, &c. These are the two main things whereof Babylon is guilty:

'1. An invented form of worship, a likeness of the true worship, but not the true worship itself.

'2. A persecuting, and endeavouring to suppress the power of the truth, even of the purity of the godly religion and worship, by means of this form; because for conscience sake, men who are taught otherwise by the Spirit of God, cannot submit and subject thereto.'

20. The Consideration of a position concerning the book of Common Prayer; as also of some particulars held forth for truths by one Edmund Ellis, stiled a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ: with a warning of tender bowels to the rulers, teachers, and people of this nation, concerning their church and ministry. Likewise, a few words concerning the kingdom, laws, and government of Christ in the heart and conscience; its inoffensiveness to all

just laws and governments of the kingdoms of men. 4to. 1660. Four sheets.

This is somewhat of a controversial piece, but our author does not seem to have had to do with a railing adversary; nor does he treat him with asperity. It cannot well be abridged; but I shall cite two passages, one to show the author's sense of the main question; the other, his state of mind, and his estimation of his own talents.

'Now as touching the book of Common Prayer, 'or prayers conceived without the immediate 'breathings of the Spirit, I shall speak mine own 'experience faithfully, which is this; I have 'felt both these ways draw out the wrong part, 'and keep that alive in me which the true prayer 'kills. And he that utters a word beyond the 'sense that God begets in his spirit, takes God's 'name in vain, and provokes him to jealousy 'against his—soul. '*God is in heaven, thou art "on earth, therefore let thy words be few.*' The 'few words which the Spirit speaks, or the few, 'still, soft, gentle breathings, which the Spirit 'begets, are pleasing to God, and profitable to 'the soul; but the many words which man's wis-'dom affects, hurt the precious life, and thicken 'the veil of death over the soul; keeping that 'part alive which separates from God; which 'part must die, ere the soul can live.' Vol. i. 408.

'As for me, I am but a shell; and if this party 'knew me (who sets me up so high, preferring

'me above many whom the Lord hath preferred
'far above me), he would soon acknowledge
'me to be a poor, weak, contemptible one. Yet
'this I must by no means deny, that the pure
'liquor of the eternal life, at its pleasure, spring-
'eth up and issueth out through me; though I can
'also, in true understanding, say, that it issueth
'out far oftener, and much more abundantly,
'through others.' p. 417.

21. An Answer to that common Objection against the Quakers, That they condemn all but themselves; with a loving and faithful advertisement to the nation and powers thereof. 4to. 1660. One sheet.

After owning the spirit which actuated the martyrs and spiritually-minded men of former days, and deprecating the disposition to stop short in partial reformation, our author thus sums up his answer:

'We are not against the true life and power of
'godliness, wherever it hath appeared, or yet
'appears, under the veil of any form whatsoever.
'Nay, all persons who singly wait upon the Lord,
'in the simplicity and sincerity of their hearts,
'whether under any form, or out of forms (that
'matters little to us), are very dear unto us in
'the Lord. But we are against all forms, images,
'imitations, and appearances, which betray the
'simplicity and sincerity of the heart, keep the
'life in bondage, and endanger the loss of the
'soul. And too many such now there are, which

'hold the immortal seed of life in captivity under death; over which we cannot but mourn, 'and wait for its breaking off the chains, and its 'rising out of all its graves, into its own pure 'life, power, and fulness of liberty in the Lord.'

22. The great Question concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Swearing under the Gospel, stated and considered of; for the satisfaction of such as desire to scan the thing in the weight of God's Spirit; and to see the true and clear determination of it in his unerring light. 4to. 1661. Two sheets.

This pamphlet condemns swearing, on the ground of the superior purity of the Christian dispensation, to that wherein oaths were allowed; as well as on the prohibition of Christ. An objection, probably that which has been made from Heb. vi. 17. is answered.

23. Somewhat spoken to a weighty Question concerning the Magistrate's protection of the innocent: wherein is held forth the blessing and peace which nations ought to wait for and embrace in the latter days; with some considerations for the serious and wise in heart throughout this nation to ponder, for diverting God's wrath (if possible) from breaking forth upon it. Also, a brief account of what the people called Quakers desire in reference to the civil government. With a few words to such as by the everlasting arm of God's power

have been drawn and gathered out of the apostasy, into the living truth and worship. 4to. 1661. Two sheets.

This was published from Aylesbury gaol. An account of it is already given, at page 63.

24. Concerning Persecution; which is the afflicting or punishing that which is good, under the pretence of its being evil; which practice is contrary to the very nature of mankind (so far as it is drawn out of the corruption and depravation [depravity]), which would be good and do good, and have good cherished and evil suppressed, both in itself and others. It is contrary also to all equal and righteous government, which is for the suppressing of evil and cherishing of good; and not for the afflicting and crushing of that which is good, upon pretence of its being evil. Yet this unhappy error will always be committed in nations and governments, until the proper right, and just liberty of men's consciences be discerned, acknowledged, and allowed. Likewise, there are some answers given to that common objection against affording conscience its due liberty, because evil persons may pretend conscience to escape the just punishment of their evil deeds. With a brief account of that supposed stubbornness, which by many is objected against the people called Quakers. Given forth in love to this nation, that at length, the true bottom and foundation of a

lasting peace and settlement may be espied; the spirits of the governors and people fixed thereon; and that dangerous rock of persecution (whereon both the powers and people of this nation have so often split) carefully avoided by all. 4to. 1661. Four sheets.

The title itself is a table of contents, which precludes the necessity of epitomizing the book. Like many of Isaac Penington's writings, it is systematic and perspicuous, not confused and obscure; and its several positions are treated of with a distinctness, which allows the reader to pause as he proceeds, without danger of losing his clue. I may just cite the concluding paragraph. 'O! how happy will the day be, when 'the Lord shall have wrought down the selfish 'spirit in man, and shall have raised up his own 'noble and equal principle. Then shall right-'eousness spring up, and spread abroad through-'out the nations; and 'the work of righteous-"ness shall be peace, and the effect of righte-"ousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

25. Some directions to the panting Soul, which hath been long travelling in the letter, but hath not yet been acquainted with the power, nor hardly so much as entered into the ministration of endless life (which is the ministration of the Gospel), that it may feel the spring, and come to drink there, of the living waters. 4to. 1661. One sheet.

Whiting places this piece after the two following; but from its date it seems more rightly placed in the works. It is difficult to give an outline of so short a work: its tenour may be inferred from the motto from Matt. xi. 28—30. "Come unto me all ye that labour," &c.

26. Concerning the Worship of the living God, which he teacheth Israel his people, who know him to be the only true God, and the worship which he teacheth them to be the only true spiritual worship. With some questions and answers relating to conversion and tenderness of conscience. 4to. One sheet.

It is easy to see that spiritual worship, free from any mixture of man's will or wisdom, is what the author enforces; he notices the springing up of such a worship in his day; and he foretells a day, in which 'it will be as honourable to 'wait for the movings of the Spirit, and to wor-'ship alone therein, as now it is reproachful.'

27. To all such as complain that they want power; not applying themselves to yield subjection to what of God is made manifest in them, upon a pretence of waiting for power so to do. 4to. 1661. Two sheets.

I shall rather aim at giving a specimen, than an analysis of this excellent piece. 'I con-'fess,' says our author, 'the power doth not so 'flow forth to man, as man expects it; but '—begins in him as weakness. There is all——

'the power of the enemy against the work of 'God in the heart. There is but a little thing '(like a grain of mustard-seed), a weak thing, a 'foolish thing, even that which is not (to man's 'eye) to overcome all this; and yet in this is 'the power.'

In this piece there is a sweet letter (to Isaac Penington, most probably, at the time of his early convincement) from John Crook, well worth the perusal of such as are truly awakened, but "afflicted and not comforted."

28. Some Questions and Answers for the opening of the eyes of the Jews Natural, that they may see the Hope of Israel, which hath so long been hid from them: with some questions and answers, for the direction, comfort, help, and furtherance of God's spiritual Israel, in their travels in spirit, from spiritual Egypt, through the spiritual wilderness, to spiritual Canaan, which is the land where the redeemed soul flourisheth in the life, walking with God, and worshipping him in spirit and truth. 8vo. 1661. Eight sheets.

This, also, though a work of deep concernment, and very far from relating wholly to the Jews, as indeed the title implies, is not capable of being represented by a summary. I have however thought the following advice so suitable a caution to the readers of mysterious writings (such as spiritual tracts must ever be to the natural understanding; and the experiences of the

adept, to the novice even in spiritual things themselves), and indeed even to the merely curious readers of the scriptures—I have, I say, esteemed it so apposite as to be worth transcribing. 'He that readeth these things,' saith our author, after a long description of the soul's spiritual travel, snares, and means of deliverance, 'let him not strive to comprehend them; but 'be content with what he feeleth thereof suitable to his own present estate: and as the life 'grows in him, and he in the life, and he comes 'to meet with the things and exercises spoken 'of, the words and experiences concerning them 'will of themselves open to him; and be useful and serviceable to him so far as the Lord 'pleaseth; he keeping to the leadings, savour, 'and principle of life in himself, wherein alone 'his knowledge, sight, growth, and experiences 'are safe.'

29. Some Questions and Answers, showing man his duty, and pointing him to the principle of God in his heart; which is the root of life in all dispensations; and which, being kept to, is able to bear the fruit of life in every dispensation. As also some questions and answers concerning the seed of Jacob, and the true church. 8vo, 1662. Three sheets.

This is also another piece little capable of abridgment; because, like some of the foregoing, and many other of our author's writings, it is

written in the way of dialogue, one question arising out of the preceding answer.

The piece before-mentioned, No. 27, 'To all 'such as complain they want power,' &c. is printed with it in the works.

30. Some Observations on that portion of Scripture, Rom. xiv. 20. for the service of such in this present age, whose eyes and hearts the Lord shall please to open, to see and consider the weight of the truth thereof. With some few weighty words of advice to several sorts of people, according to their different states. 8vo. 1662. One sheet.

The passage of scripture is this, "For meat, "destroy not the work of God." The observations are four; namely,

'1. God hath a work in some men's hearts.'

'2. That this work of God in man is liable to 'be destroyed.'

'3. A little thing will destroy the work of 'God in the heart.'

'4. No man should do that which tendeth to 'destroy the work of God in himself, or the 'work of God in another.'

Each observation is briefly enlarged upon. The first may seem to savour of unconditional and partial election. Nevertheless our author appears to have been an advocate for universal grace; but in a piece inferring and asserting the possibility of destroying the divine operation, it was sufficient to assert it only as existing in

some. In this view, it is a reply to the assertors of the impossibility of falling from the least degree of saving grace. There are short addresses to several states; viz. to such as never have been tender in conscience; to such as having been so, are become hard; to such as are still tender; and, lastly, to the obdurate and persecuting. Few works more teem with benevolence than this does. From it is given the extract at page 76.

31. Three Queries propounded to the King and Parliament, in the fear of the Most High, and in the tender love of my soul to them. 4to. One sheet. No date.

The three questions are these,

'1. Whether ye do certainly and infallibly 'know what was the ground or cause why the 'hand of the Lord was so heavy upon this nation, 'and why he overturned the government there-'of, and brought the honourable into con-'tempt?'

'2. Whether, when the Lord did overturn the 'former powers, with the glory and beauty of 'this nation, and raise up other powers out of 'the dust (as I may say), even from among 'them of low degree, if they had then answered 'what the Lord expected and required of them 'in their day, whether they should have been 'continued by him in their dominion or no; and 'whether ye should have had this day of trial,

'which it hath pleased the Lord now to afford 'you?'

'3. If ye do not certainly know what was the 'cause of the Lord's former displeasure against 'you, and of his so sore afflicting you, but shall 'err in judgment, and set up the same things 'again, which the Lord then put forth his hand 'to throw down; and also endeavour to crush 'and suppress that, which the Lord then made 'way for the growth of; whether this will not 'endanger your overthrow from the hand of the 'Lord?'

This is a dissuasive against persecution. A large extract from it is given at page 73.

32. A Salutation of Love and tender Good-will to the Commissioners of the Peace for the county of Bucks, and such others in that county, and also throughout the nation, as are concerned in the contents hereof. Published in one broad sheet. No date.

This is a serious warning to avoid the eternal displeasure of the Almighty, by avoiding the temptations to sin. It may be considered as a short sermon, appears to be dictated in love, and is a piece of general application.

33. A weighty Question propounded to the King, and both houses of Parliament; together with some queries about religion, for the good of men's souls, that they may seek after, and be established in, that which gives

life. 4to. 1663. One sheet.—The first part being short, I transcribe the whole.

'Question. *Whether laws made by man, in equity ought to extend any further than there is power in man to obey?*'

'Is it not cruel to require obedience in such cases, wherein the party hath not a capacity in him of obeying?'

'Now, in things concerning the worship of God, wherein a man is limited by God, both what worship he shall perform, and what worship he shall abstain from; here he is not left at liberty to obey what laws shall be made by man contrary hereunto.'

'The New Testament worship is to be in spirit and truth; which is a principle above man's reason, and cannot rightly be limited by a lower principle; but the lower principle in every man should be subjected to the higher, both in himself and others.'

'These things I write, not in pride or conceitedness; but with an humble heart and in love; that God may have his due; Cæsar, his; and all men, theirs; and that wrath from God may not break forth upon this nation: for surely it cannot but greatly provoke him, to see his people so deeply suffer for their obedience to him in what he requireth of them.

'I am a lover of peace, truth, and righteousness; and an hearty desirer of the welfare and prosperity of this nation; and that it may no

'more be broken up in the wrath and indignation
'of the Lord; but that the peaceable and righte-
'ous seed, which he hath sown in the hearts of
'many, may be quietly suffered to grow up, to
'the praise of the Lord, and to the good of man-
'kind.'

'This is from one who was a mourner over
'you in your affliction; and is now also a
'mourner over those whom ye afflict.---I. P.'

This piece also contains a weighty discussion of the difference between the persuasions of reason, and the persuasions of faith; giving of course the superiority to the latter.

84. Some of the Mysteries of God's Kingdom glanced at, for the service of the upright-hearted among several sorts of professors; who have formerly had a feeling of most of these things in measure: to which feeling, and that which gave it them, they are hereby allured and invited to return; that the *many names* and *various ways* may perish and vanish; and the *one Spirit, one Life, one new living Name* and *Way*, may be waited for and pursued after: that so all the tribes and families, and several divisions of Israel may know one another; and heartily unite in one nature and inward power of life, which doth good to all, and harm to none, neither inwardly nor outwardly. By a traveller towards the living substance, and a mourner over the wanderings

of the scattered sheep. 4to, 1663. Four sheets.

This work is divided into sixteen sections, with the following titles. Concerning Christ—The Way of knowing Christ—Repentance—Faith—Hope—Love—Obedience—Peace, or rest—Joy—Liberty—Prayer—Regeneration—Justification—Sanctification—Reconciliation—Redemption.

As a specimen, I select the following extract, being the section on Love.

'What is Love? What shall I say of it, or 'how shall I in words express its nature! It is 'the sweetness of life. It is the sweet, tender, 'melting nature of God, flowing up through 'his seed of life into the creature; and, of all 'things, making the creature most like unto 'himself, both in nature and operation. It ful-'fils the law. It fulfils the gospel. It wraps up 'all in one, and brings forth all in the oneness. 'It excludes all evil out of the heart; it perfects 'all good in the heart. A touch of love doth 'this in measure; perfect love doth this in-'fulness. But how can I proceed to speak of 'it! Oh! that the souls of all that fear and wait 'on the Lord might feel its nature fully; and 'then would they not fail of its sweet overcom-'ing operations, both towards one another, and 'towards enemies. The great healing, the great 'conquest, the great salvation is reserved for the 'full manifestation of the love of God. His

' judgments, his cuttings, his hewings by the ' word of his mouth, are but to prepare for, but ' not to do, the great work of raising up the ' sweet building of his life; which is to be done ' in love, and in peace, and by the power there- ' of. And this my soul waits and cries after, ' even the full springing up of eternal love in ' my heart, and in the swallowing of me wholly ' into it, and the bringing of my soul wholly ' forth in it, that the life of God, in its own ' perfect sweetness, may freely run forth through ' this vessel; and not be at all tinctured by the ' vessel, but perfectly tincture and change the ' vessel into its own nature; and then shall no ' fault be found in my soul before the Lord; ' but the spotless life be fully enjoyed by me, ' and become a perfectly pleasant sacrifice to my ' God.'

' O how sweet is Love! how pleasant is its ' nature! how takingly doth it behave itself, ' in every condition, upon every occasion, ' to every person, and about every thing! ' How tenderly, how readily, doth it help and ' serve the meanest! How patiently, how meek- ' ly doth it bear all things, either from God or ' man; how unexpectedly soever they come, or ' how hard soever they seem! How doth it be- ' lieve! How doth it hope! How doth it ex- ' cuse, how doth it cover even that which seem- ' eth not to be excusable, and not fit to be ' covered! How kind is it even in its interpre- ' tations and charges concerning miscarriages!

'It never overchargeth, it never grates upon 'the spirit of him whom it reprehends. It never 'hardens, it never provokes; but carrieth a 'meltingness and power of conviction with it. 'This is the nature of God. This, in the vessels 'capacitated to receive and bring it forth in its 'glory, the power of enmity is not able to stand 'against, but falls before, and is overcome 'by.'

In this work, though not specified in the title, there are 'Some Questions and Answers of deep 'concernment to the Jews, from one who hath 'been a wrestler and traveller [travailer] with 'the Lord of life, for the day of their mercy and 'redemption.' I shall only quote the following lines, and observe that the concluding address to the Jews is very earnest and pathetic. The selected quotation is an answer to the first question, the piece being catechetical.—'That there 'is mercy towards, and redemption for, that 'poor scattered, forsaken people, my heart hath 'from my childhood, and doth still steadfastly 'believe.'

35. Some deep Considerations concerning the State of Israel, past, present, and to come. With some questions and answers concerning unity. 4to. No date. Two sheets.

This has relation to the state of spiritual religion in our author's memory; but as the nature of the human mind is alike in all times, it is not to be considered as an obsolete piece. In looking

it over, I fell upon a very tender and encouraging salutation to the afflicted traveller towards Sion.

The questions concerning spiritual unity are the following:

'1. What is it? 2. Wherein doth it consist?
'3. How preserved? 4. How interrupted?
'5. How recovered, if decaying?'

The reader may probably incline to turn to the answers (which would exceed my plan to insert), when he has tasted the following paragraph, with which this piece concludes:

'And let all strive to excel in tenderness, and
'in long-suffering, and to be kept out of hard
'and evil thoughts one of another, and from
'harsh interpretations concerning any thing re-
'lating to one another. Oh! this is unworthy
'to be found in an Israelite towards an Egyptian;
'but exceeding shameful and inexcusable to
'be found in one brother towards another. How
'many weaknesses doth the Lord pass by in us!
'How ready is he to interpret every thing well
'concerning his disciples, that may bear a good
'interpretation! *The spirit*, saith he, *is willing*,
'*but the flesh is weak*. When they had been all
'scattered from him, upon his death, he did not
'afterwards upbraid them, but sweetly gathered
'them again. O dear friends, have we received
'the same life of sweetness? Let us bring forth
'the same sweet fruits, being ready to excuse, and
'to receive what may tend towards the excuse of
'another in any doubtful case; and where there

'is any evil manifest, wait, Oh! wait, to overcome 'it with good. Oh! let us not spend the 'strength of our spirits in crying out of one 'another because of evil; but watch and wait 'where the mercy and the healing virtue will 'please to arise. *O Lord, my God, when thou 'hast shown the wants of Israel in any kind sufficiently (whether in the particular or in the 'general), bring forth the supply thereof from 'thy fulness, so ordering it in thy eternal wisdom, 'that all may be ashamed and abased before thee, 'and thy name praised in and over all.*'

As this piece is said to be by 'Isaac Penington the younger' (at least is so printed in the works), I mention it before the next, though that precedes in Whiting's Catalogue; but, with Whiting, I put both before what is here numbered 37, because this being written in Aylesbury prison, it seemed natural to connect it with a series of pieces also written there.

86. Concerning God's seeking out his Israel: likewise concerning the principle of life whereby he seeketh them; and the way of their closing with his Spirit therein. As also concerning the two covenants; under one whereof he pleaseth to exercise and prepare them for the life and inheritance, which he hath treasured up for them in the other. With a postscript, relating some things necessary for lost man to be acquainted with, in his travels from his lost estate. 4to. 1663. Three sheets.

This wants in the title the appellation 'younger,' which seems to denote that about this time our author lost his father, the alderman, who, as has before been remarked, died in the Tower, a prisoner to the royal party then risen to power.

This piece is addressed to Friends in and about Godmanchester, in Huntingdonshire. A part of it arose on this wise: Some time before, the author had been at meeting there, in which whilst another friend was speaking, some words sprung up in his mind. When the friend ceased, the words did not again spring in him, and he dared not to utter them from bare remembrance, but went away with a burden. After some time, one morning, not then thinking of the circumstance, the very same words sprung up again livingly, with a pointing to write them down, with what else should be given to him, and to send them to the friends of the neighbourhood of Godmanchester.

I have found it more than ordinarily difficult to fix upon any part of this work as a specimen. The words which occurred at Godmanchester were these: '*The Shepherd of Israel is seeking out his sheep, even the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*' The title of this book, as well as this sentence, may be thought by some to have a predestinarian aspect; but he defines 'his sheep' to be the sons of men; and 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' those among the sons of men who have felt touches of the life, but have not fully followed it. A second part of the work has this title—

'Concerning the Seed, or inward principle, 'whereby life is begotten and maintained in the 'heart.' In this, the lowness and weakness of the first appearances of good, and the necessity of being content to receive it in its low appearance, are much insisted on. Then follow remarks 'Concerning the two Covenants.' Here again the author shows himself no advocate for a partial call by grace; saying, 'This visitation of 'grace is to all mankind, there being none upon 'earth whom the Lord doth not thus seek, and 'visit with the light of his eternal life, thus ad-'ministered through the grace.' This section contains encouraging advice to the upright yet weary traveller; and also the author's belief that there may yet be a greater manifestation of the love and life than yet is. There is also a Postscript, concerning 'Some things necessary 'for lost man to be acquainted with: as, 1. To 'know his lost estate and misery for ever, unless 'the Lord pity and help him. 2. To know the 'light wherewith the Lord visits the souls that 'sit in darkness. 3. To breathe to the Lord, 'and wait to have his heart joined to the power 'of life daily. 4. To put forth all the strength 'of his soul and mind, and all the members of 'his body, in the service of the Lord. 5. To 'wait daily to receive the strength from the 'Lord, wherewith he serveth the Lord. 6. To 'feel the grace and mercy of the Lord, in what-'ever he receiveth from the Lord, or whatever 'he doth for the Lord. 7. To wait for the

'wasting of the man, and the raising up of the 'seed day by day.'—I have abridged most of these, and shall much abridge the conclusion.

'Here,' saith he, 'is safety indeed! Here is 'everlasting righteousness so brought in, that it 'can never be removed out of the heart more. 'Here, everlasting life and the soul are one for 'ever.—This is the mark of Israel, and the haven 'of its eternal rest.'

37. Some Queries concerning the order and government of the Church of Christ. 4to. No date. Two sheets. Written in Aylesbury prison.

The scope of this piece is to establish the necessity of order in the church; in reply to such as contend that general regulations may occasion a man to turn away from the measure of life in his own vessel, to another man's measure. This, and other objections are answered. 'Did not,' says Penington, 'the apostles preach up the 'measure of life in their day,—the anointing 'within, its sufficiency to teach all things? &c. 'And yet did they so preach it as to overthrow 'the ministry, or the gifts or service, either 'towards them that were without, or them that 'were within? Had they not power over them 'in the Lord? Were they not—to build them 'up in the holy faith; and also to watch against 'wolves and devouring spirits?' The tract however seems to have a principal reference to the judgment respecting the ministry of others. The

latter part of it relates to unity, and the author mentions four means, which he had found helpful to preserve him in unity with the body. The first is, *the pure fear of the Lord;* the second, *humility of heart;* the third, *sobriety of judgment**. 'Not to set up mine own judgment,' says he, 'or that which I account the judgment of life in 'me, above the judgment of others, or that 'which is indeed life in others. For the Lord 'hath appeared to others, as well as to me: yea, 'there are others, who are, in —— the purity 'and dominion of his life, far beyond me.' The last-mentioned means are, *tenderness, meekness, coolness, and stillness of spirit.* 'These,' he declares, 'are of an uniting, preserving nature. 'He that differs—from the body, cannot be thus; 'and he that is thus, cannot rend or divide.'

38. An Epistle, written from Aylesbury prison, to Friends in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, New-England, Barbadoes, or any where else, where the Lord God shall order this to come, in the tender spirit of life and love, greeting. 4to. 1666. One sheet and a half.

There is much in this of the same stamp with the last; which makes it the more probable that Whiting's arrangement is the right one.

* So the apostle. Not to think more highly of himself than he ought to think; but to think *soberly*, φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

39. One more tender Visitation to the men of this generation, sent to them in bowels of love and tender compassion, before their day be over. Published in a broad sheet. 1666. Dated from Aylesbury prison, 16th, 5th month.

This is a tender, pathetic remonstrance, chiefly with those in authority; breathing, according to my capacity to judge, the genuine spirit and language of a persecuted Christian to his oppressors.

40. Concerning the Church, or, of the Church-state under the Gospel: whereby it may appear what a miserable apostasy from the truth hath overspread and covered the earth for many ages and generations, and how gross and thick the darkness yet lies upon it; though the light of God, in his tender mercy, hath broke forth and shined upon the people of his gathering, and through them hath also visited the world. The guidance of this in my heart was particularly and chiefly towards the Papists; but I afterwards had a true sense that it also extended to the state of such Protestants as had not waited on the Lord, for him (in his wisdom and power) to rear up his own building; but had ventured to build of themselves, and so had reared up churches in the same spirit of error, darkness, and apostasy, which they seemed to depart from. Against all which the Lord will fight, and all which he will break down, in the day of the revelation of the

glorious light and power of his truth, which will overcome, subdue, and reign over the earth; not after the manner of men, but in the heavenly dominion of his life.—Written in Aylesbury prison, about the middle of the sixth month, 1666.—Whereunto are annexed, some observations upon the eternal judgment, as it is expressed by Christ, Matth. xxv. 31. to the end of the chapter.—This last was written 29th of the 8th month. The whole two sheets and a half, 4to.

The title is full and particular. I attempt not to analyze; but select the description of the means of knowing a true church.

'There must be somewhat in man, to know 'them [modern accuracy would say *it*], and 'somewhat in them to be known by. That in 'man which knows them, must be somewhat of 'God in him: for that which is of man, cannot 'measure or judge of the things of God. As the 'worldly wisdom and spirit could not know 'Christ formerly; so neither now can it know 'his church.'

The well-known passage in Mat. xxv. is here brought as a weighty argument against persecution.

41. Concerning the sum or substance of our Religion, who are called Quakers; and the exercises and travails of our spirits therein.—No date. 4to. Two sheets.

The author declares the sum of their religion to be the feeling and discerning of the two seeds. This is opened in the first part. The next division is, 'Concerning Christ, coming to 'the Father by him, receiving him, walking in 'him; not in the oldness of the letter, but in 'the newness of the spirit. And concerning 'reading the scriptures aright.'

The third section relates to the gospel-ministration; and the fourth is, 'Concerning Christ's 'being manifested without, and his being also 'manifested within, and how both are owned by 'them that know the truth.' Lastly are, 'A few 'words concerning the principle of truth; what 'it is; how it may be discerned; and how it 'may be purchased and possessed.'

42. Some things of great weight and concernment to all; briefly opened and held forth from a true sense and understanding, for the healing of the ruins and breaches, which the enemy of mankind hath made in men's souls. As, 1. Some assertions concerning the principle and way of life. 2. Some further directions to Christ, the principle and fountain of life. 3. The end of Christ's manifestation, his salvation, and whom he saves. 4. Three questions answered concerning Justification. 5. Of the pure, constant, eternal, unchangeable nature of God's truth. Written in the time of my confinement in Aylesbury, when love was working in me, and the life of God in me tra-

vailing and wrestling with the Lord for the salvation of others. 4to. 1667. Two sheets and a half.

The two first sentences of this work will, in great measure, manifest the scope of it.

'1. That it is a great and hard matter to come 'into a capacity of knowing and receiving the 'truth. It is no hard matter to take up any re- 'ligion that a man finds in the world. To read 'scriptures, to believe what a man finds related 'there, according to his understanding of them; 'yea, to believe that he hath the light and help 'of the Spirit in his reading and understanding; 'to apply himself also to practise and observe 'what he finds therein required; and to aim at 'holiness, &c. This is no hard matter: every 'man that is serious, and seeks religion of any 'kind, but in the weight of a man's spirit, may 'go thus far. But all this administers not the 'true capacity; but he that meets with *it*, must 'go further than thus.'

'2. That which gives the true capacity is a 'principle of life from God; and there alone, 'and no-where else, can a man meet with it, and 'receive it. This principle is the seed of the 'kingdom, or heavenly leaven, with which the 'mind must be in some measure leavened, ere it 'can come into a true capacity of understanding 'and receiving the truth. And in this leaven

'must it abide and grow up, if it abide and grow 'in the true knowledge.'

The foregoing tracts (with the exceptions already noticed) compose the first volume of the Quarto edition of Isaac Penington's works, printed by the late Samuel Clark of London, for John and Thomas Kendall, Colchester, and published 1761.

43. A Question to the Professors of Christianity, whether they have the true, living, powerful, saving knowledge of Christ, or no. With some queries concerning Christ and his appearances; his taking upon him our flesh; as also concerning his flesh and blood, and our being formed thereof and feeding thereon. And an incitation to professors, seriously to consider whether they or we fail in the true acknowledgment and owning of the Christ which died at Jerusalem. Likewise, some propositions and considerations concerning the nature of church-worships and ordinances, since the death of the apostles, for the sake of the simplicity, which hath been long held captive therein. With the sounding of Bowels towards thee, O England! Also a faithful guidance to the principle and path of truth. With some sensible, experimental questions and answers, from the tenth chapter of John. By I. Penington, prisoner in Aylesbury, who (by the counsel of the Lord) hath chosen rather to suffer affliction with the despised people of

God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. 4to. 1667. Seven sheets.

'The question,' says he, 'is not, whether they 'know what is said of Christ in the scriptures; 'but whether they know it *savingly, truly, living-* 'ly, powerfully. Yea, they may know what is 'said of him, and yet not know him of whom 'those things are said.'

He gives many instances of the Jews, who, having furnished themselves with many outward marks from the scriptures for the discovery of Christ, yet knew him not when he came; and declares that many now can condemn the Jews, who are acting over again in spirit the same thing. The queries concerning Christ are thirty-eight in number, tending to lead to a confession that the sacrifice of Christ has more than an outward interpretation; and pointing out the sense of many scriptural expressions respecting the mode of salvation by Christ. In the part entitled 'An Incitation,' &c. he thus repels the charge, that our Friends did not acknowledge Christ, as testified of in the scriptures. 'We do really in 'our hearts own that Christ who came in the 'fulness of time, in that prepared body, to do 'the Father's will (his coming into the world, 'doctrine, miracles, sufferings, death, resur- 'rection, &c.); in plainness and simplicity of 'heart, according as it is expressed in the letter 'of the scriptures. We own no other Christ

'than that, nor hold forth no other thing for 'Christ, but him who then appeared, and was 'made manifest in flesh.'

These four things he asserts:

'1. That nothing can save but the knowledge 'of that very Christ who offered up the prepared 'body at Jerusalem. 2. That no knowledge of 'Christ can save, but the living knowledge; 'which is only given to that which is begotten 'of the Spirit, and runs not out into the fleshly 'conceivings about the things mentioned in the 'scriptures. 3. That the man who knoweth not 'Christ in spirit; but calleth the shinings of 'his light, his checks for evil, his motions to 'good, *natural;* this man, though he seem to 'own Christ ever so much according to the letter, 'yet in truth denies him. 4. He that denies 'Christ (in his visitations in his own heart, and 'before men in the truths which he holds forth 'by his ministers of his Spirit) him will he deny 'before his Father in heaven.' I abridge. See 'the whole, vol. 2. 4to. p. 27.

The Sounding of Bowels towards England is a weighty piece, turning on these two questions. 'What is the way of peace?' 'What is the way 'of trouble?'

Another part of this work is some exposition of the similitude of the Shepherd, the door, the fold, and the sheep, in John x. It thus ends: 'The Lord God, who is the spring and fountain

'of all good, inflame people with desires after 'the pure life and holy nature, which is of and 'from Christ, the Seed, his Son, and satisfy those 'desires which are singly and uprightly after 'him.' There is also a general conclusion to the whole. This also is a product of imprisonment.

44. To such as are not satisfied with a profession without the true life and power, but have sincere desires in their hearts after the Lord himself, and a willingness to be acquainted with his pure, living truth, and with the soul's true guide and leader. This experience is in my heart to express unto you, which we have all along witnessed in our travels out of the dark, corrupt land, into the land of life and purity. 4to. 1668. One sheet and a half.

This piece does not appear to admit of a specimen.

Next to it, in the works, is printed the Account of his soul's travel towards the Holy Land, &c. which forms part of the following tract.

45. Observations on some passages of Lodowick Muggleton, in his interpretation of the 11th chapter of the Revelations. As also on some passages in that book of his stiled *The Neck of the Quakers broken*, and in his letter to

Thomas Taylor; whereby it may appear what spirit he is of, and what god his commission is from. Whereunto is added, a brief Account of my soul's travel towards the holy land, with a few words concerning the way of knowing and receiving the truth. Written in tender love to souls, in true sense and understanding received from the Lord, and with reverence to his holy Spirit and power. 4to. 1668. Three sheets and a half.

It appears by this, that the early editors did not think fit to reprint the observations on Muggleton; as they took only the latter part of this pamphlet. The substance of the 'Account,' &c. is given at page 22, forming a part of the narrative of the author's convincement.

46. Some things relating to Religion, proposed to the Royal Society, so termed; to wit, concerning the right ground of certainty therein; concerning tenderness of spirit, and persecution; a query concerning separation; concerning washing away sin from the conscience, and the garment of salvation, and what it is that is covered therewith. Likewise some questions and answers concerning the church of the new covenant, the rock or foundation whereon it is built, and its preservation by and upon the rock. With some queries concerning the scattered and hidden estate of the church; and concerning that church which got up in the view of the world instead thereof;

and was acknowledged by the world, as if she had been the true church; though in deed and in truth she was not so. Whereunto are added, some queries to professors, who speak of high attainments, &c. Written by one, whom it hath pleased the Lord (of his great goodness and tender mercy) to lead out of the darkness into his marvellous light; known among men by the name of Isaac Penington. 4to. 1668. Three sheets.

It may seem strange that a society incorporated for the purpose of investigating natural knowledge, should be selected for a religious address. The author's prefatory letter may open his intention in it, as the copious title may sufficiently, for this cursory view, show the contents of the work.

'Friends, I have heard that ye are seeking 'after the excellency of nature and learning. 'I am not for discouraging any man, in endeavouring after that which is good, useful, and 'excellent in its kind and place; but it is the 'advantage of every thing to know and abide 'in its place; and to honour and serve him 'from whom all good gifts and endowments 'come. Man hath but a moment in this world, 'and he is here no more; and then *the spirit returneth to God, that gave it,* to give an account 'of the talent which he gave it, and its improvement thereof, to the glory of him that gave it, 'and to the salvation of its own soul. Now,

'this talent is of a higher kind than nature, and 'will lead higher than nature; giving a man to 'partake of that wisdom from which nature 'came, and teaching him to order all that is 'natural to its right end. For God is not an 'enemy to nature; but to the corruption and 'disorder of nature. I desire ye might know 'and partake of the true wisdom, and feel union 'with God in the principle of his own life; and 'the incorruptible and heavenly seed of God 'receive dominion over the earthly and cor-'ruptible. For this end singly, in the love 'springing up in my heart towards you (as it 'often doth, both towards particular persons 'and societies; for I am a friend to all, and a 'lover of all; sincerely desiring the good of all, 'and the right guidance of their souls to hap-'piness), have I proposed these things following 'more particularly to your view, though they 'concern others also, that ye thereby might be 'awakened to search after that which is most 'excellent in you, and be acquainted with the 'virtue and precious effects thereof, to the full 'satisfaction and complete joy of your souls, in 'that which alone is able fully to satisfy, and 'give them ground of durable joy and rejoicing; 'in that which is not of a perishing nature, but 'which was, and is, and will be, the same for 'ever.'

'From a friend to the everlasting peace of 'your souls, and a desirer of your welfare

'and prosperity in this world, — Isaac 'Penington.'

47. Of the Church in its first and pure state, in its declining state, in its declined state, and in its recovery. With the way of salvation in the covenant of life opened, and some stumbling-blocks removed out of the way of the simple-hearted. Likewise, some queries concerning the new covenant: with an exhortation to all people; but more especially to such as are desolate and distressed. By one who testifieth what he hath seen, and heard, and tasted, and handled of the word and life eternal, Isaac Penington. Whereunto is added, a visit of tender and upright love to such as retain a sincerity towards the Lord. Also, a brief account of the ground of certainty and satisfaction, which it hath pleased the Lord to establish in my heart, concerning religion and the things of his kingdom. And a question answered, about the way of knowing the motions, doctrines, and teachings of Christ's Spirit: with somewhat relating to the gospel-rest or sabbath; and some queries to such as complain of want of power to become the Lord's, and serve him. 4to. 1668. Nine sheets and a half.

The Church in its pure state is portrayed by descriptions taken from 2 Pet. i. 1. 1 Pet. i. 8. and ii. 5. 1 John, ii. 8, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21. Heb. vi. 10. x. 32, 33. xii. 22—24, 28. also

from Rev. i. 5, 6. It is described as formed of 'squared stones, fit for the spiritual building; 'not old, rough, fierce, cruel, implacable, un-'regenerate, unholy spirits; but meek, gentle, 'lowly, tender, poor in spirit, merciful, peace-'able in themselves, and making peace among 'men, renewed and sanctified in spirit, holy in 'conversation, suffering for that power of truth 'and righteousness which they profess, and bear 'witness to.'

Treating of a declining church, he says, 'Can 'any thing preserve a soul, or church, but God's 'power?—A church is like a garden, needs 'digging, dressing, watering, and sun-shine.— 'Do not weeds easily spring up in a garden? 'yea, ranker weeds than in common ground,— '———if it be not—kept by the gardener. 'Read the figure and understand.———If but 'one root of bitterness spring up in a church, 'it may defile many, and trouble the whole— 'so one corrupted church may—poison many 'more.'

An instance of a declined, fallen church, is given from 2 Thes. ii. 4; and the condition of its members is described from 2 Tim. iii. 2, &c.

As to the state of the church in the recovery, I briefly notice the change of language, which, with great force, and beauty, and significance, he ascribes to it:

'It shall be said no more, 'Who can make 'war with the beast?' after the Lamb hath over-

'come him; but 'Who is like to thee, O Lord, "O King of saints, who hast taken to thee thy "great power, and hast reigned?"

In the 'Way of Salvation opened,' among other things, the Calvinistic doctrine of Reprobation is combated, and there are some nice disquisitions on this subject. The following distinctions I incline to quote: 'It is not the 'creature which is rejected by its Maker; but 'somewhat in the creature, and the creature in 'that. Nor is it the creature (simply) which is 'elected; but somewhat in the creature, and 'the creature in that. And as any man comes 'into that, the election is begun in him——— 'But as any man departs from that, he departs 'from the election into the reprobation.'

In the 'Visit of tender and upright love,' may be found a brief discussion of the subjects of Water-baptism, and the Supper, together with divers other weighty subjects, on some of which Friends have been, and are, often misunderstood, and misrepresented. On the whole, as this is not one of our author's lesser tracts, so it seems not one of the least valuable. The topics are of the first importance, and he appears to labour at treating of them with perspicuity.

48. An Inquiry after Truth and Righteousness, and after the people whom the Lord establisheth, and will establish therein: in some

queries on Isaiah lviii. and also on chap liv. 4to. 1671. One sheet. Written in Reading gaol.

It is generally allowed that these two chapters relate to the glorious state of the true church, and our author endeavours to show how far what is there spoken of it, is applicable to the professors of spiritual Christianity at that time under persecution.

49. The holy Truth and People defended; and some of the weapons and strength of the power of darkness broken and scattered, by the light and power of truth: in an answer to the chief passages in a letter, written to me, and replied to by me, before my imprisonment in this place; where I have been a prisoner above a year and a half, without any law broken, or cause given on my part, who only came innocently and peaceably to visit my friends in prison. By me, Isaac Penington, prisoner for the testimony of truth (for could I have denied truth, I might have avoided the snare), at Reading gaol. 1672. 4to. Five sheets and a half.

This piece being an answer to the book of an opponent, in which the author selects passage after passage, replying to each, cannot well be represented in miniature; but as it consists of a review of divers objections that have been made to the doctrine of Friends, it may be recommended

to such as desire minutely to examine their tenets. The following short passage relates to a common calumny of our adversaries. 'As for our denying 'Redemption by the blood of Christ,—none up-'on the earth (as the Lord God knoweth) are 'so taught, and do so rightly and fully own re-'demption by the blood of Christ, as the Lord 'hath taught us to do. For we own the blood 'of the Lord Jesus Christ, both outwardly and 'inwardly; both as it was shed on the cross, and 'as it is sprinkled in our consciences; and know 'the cleansing virtue thereof in the everlasting 'covenant, and in the light which is eternal: 'out of which light men have but a notion there-'of, but do not truly know nor own it.'

50. The ancient principle of Truth, or the light within asserted, and held forth according to true experience, and the faithful testimony of the scriptures: in the answers to four questions. 1. What this light is which we testify of, and what is the nature of it? 2. What it doth inwardly in the heart? 3. How it cometh to be lighted, set up, and increased there? 4. How it cometh to be diminished or extinguished in any? Also an appeal to the witness of God in all consciences, Which is the more sure word of prophecy; the testimony of the scriptures without, or the voice and testimony of the light and Spirit of God within in the heart. By one once greatly distressed, but now at length, in the tender mercy of the

Lord, effectually visited and redeemed by the light and power of truth. 8vo. 1672. Six sheets.

The fore-part of this tract is, as may be expected, an exposition of the principles of Friends. In the appeal, or comparison between the outward and inward guide, the preference is given to the latter. The passage in 2 Peter, i. 19. has given rise to some controversy; and standing as it does in our common translation, it is not surprising that it should; but there is great reason to suppose that it is wrongly translated, and that no comparison between the voice in the mount and any thing else, was intended by the apostle. Much of the arguments, however, of Isaac Penington, and several others of our early friends, in favour of the superiority of the Spirit to the letter, may still stand good, though that which gave rise to them is done away. In fact, the professors of those times used this text to prove the all-sufficiency of the scriptures. Our friends, who had learned the pre-excellence of the cause before the effect, opposed them on their own ground; and while both parties allowed that something was supposed to be preferred to the voice on the mount, they had reason on their side in asserting that it could not be the scripture. It is with diffidence and fear, I presume to conclude, that such eminent men were not fully aware of the true meaning of the passage; but if the words, rightly translated, are

literally these, "And we have more sure the "prophetic word*," the comparison "more sure" (which probably means, more confirmed) will relate to the increased confirmation which the primitive Christians had of prophecy, by having seen its accomplishment. I think the subsequent verses are also clearer by this means, and accord better with the scope of the whole passage.

There is a postscript to this work on the 18th verse of Rom. ix. "Therefore hath he mercy on "whom he will have mercy, and whom he will "he hardeneth." This text the author attempts to rescue from the service of the Predestinarians; and contends against the doctrine which is generally drawn from this and other parts of that famous chapter: showing, 1. from the nature of God, 2. from his sending his Son, 3. from the universality of the covenant of light and life, and 4. from Scripture-testimony, that the Almighty would have none to perish.

51. Naked Truth, or Truth nakedly manifesting itself, in several particulars, for the removing of hinderances out of the way of the

* Καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον. Isaac Penington has noticed that the Greek has 'prophetic word;' but he does not seem to have observed that our translators have transposed the words of the sentence, nor to have noticed the definite article τὸν, *the*, which our translators have rendered, *a*.

simple-hearted, that they may come to true knowledge, life, liberty, peace, and joy in the Lord, through the virtue and power of his precious truth, revealed and working in them. Given forth by way of question and answer. Whereunto are added some experiences, with some scriptures, very sweet, and necessary to be experienced in the gospel-state. As also a few words concerning the true Christ. And a few words in the bowels of tender love and good-will to my native country. By a long mourner and traveller after, but at length a happy experiencer of, the Truth, as it is in Jesus. 8vo. 1674. Seven sheets and a half.

This is arranged under the following heads:

1. Concerning understanding the holy Scriptures truly and aright. 2. The illuminating and sanctifying Spirit. 3. The holy Spirit of God, and the holy Scriptures. 4. The law of the Lord, which is perfect, and converts the soul. 5. David's longings, as expressed in Psal. xlii. xliii. cxix, and other places. 6. The sun or fountain of spiritual light. 7. The Word's being a fire and a hammer, to burn up the chaff and break the rocks in pieces. 8. God's writing his law in the heart. 9. The inward Light of God's Spirit. 10. The Ministers and Ministry of the Gospel. 11. Trying of spirits and searching the heart. 12. Things necessary to Salvation. 13. The true Gospel-church or society. 14. The Way to Salvation. 15. Christ's saving the soul. 16. Re-

generation. 17. True Holiness. 18. Christ's works outwardly in the days of his flesh, and inwardly in the day and inward shining of the light of his Spirit in the heart. 19. The Yoke or Cross of Christ. 20. Making our Calling and Election sure. 21. Prayer. 22. Repentance. 23. Faith. 24. Obedience. 25. Justification. 26. Good Works. 27. Love. 28. Meekness and Patience. 29. The Knowledge of the New Covenant. 30. Its Fear. 31. Hope. 32. Peace. 33. Joy. 34. Poverty of Spirit and Humility.

The Experiences are on the several subjects of 1. The Seed of the Kingdom. 2. The Soul's Food. 3. God's power. 4. Temptations. 5. Prayer. 6. Justification and Sanctification. 7. Faith. 8. Obedience. 9. The Cross of Christ. 10. The Mystery of Life, and the Mystery of the Fellowship that is therein. 11. Judging according to appearance, and judging righteous judgment. The scripture passages, which our author truly terms sweet, and on each of which he comments, are the following: John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 3. John vi. 45. 1 John v. 12. John vi. 55, 56. Psalm xxxvi. 9. Isaiah lv. 1, 2, 3. John iv. 14. 1 John i. 2, 3. Matth. xi. 28, 29, 30. 1 John v. 20. 2 Cor. iv. 6. also iii. 14. John viii. 31, 32. Rom. vi. 14. Isaiah iv. 5. also xii. 1, 2, 3. Rev. iii. 18. 1 John ii. 27. Psalm lxxxv. 9, to the end. Rev. iii. 20.

For a small specimen, an extract from the section on Joy may suffice.

'Quest. Which is the true Joy? Answ. The 'joy which flows from God's presence, and the 'work of his power in the heart, and the assured 'expectation which he gives of the full inheri-'tance and glory of life everlasting. When the 'Bridegroom is present, when the soul is gathered 'home to him, married to him, in union with him, 'in the holy, living fellowship; when he appears 'against the enemies of the soul, rising up 'against them, breaking, scattering them; and 'giving of his good things, filling with life, 'filling with love, filling with virtue, feasting 'the soul in the presence of the Father; oh! 'what sweet joy! oh! what fulness of joy is 'there then in the heart! 'In thy presence is "fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are "pleasures for evermore."

52. The Flesh and Blood of Christ, in the mystery and in the outward, briefly, plainly, and uprightly acknowledged, and testified to; for the satisfaction and benefit of the tender-hearted, who desire to experience the quickening, healing, and cleansing virtue of it. With a brief account concerning the people called Quakers, in reference both to principle and doctrine. Whereunto are added some few other things, which, by the blessing of God, may be experimentally found useful to the true pilgrims and faithful travellers out of the nature and spirit of this world. Written in

true love and tenderness of spirit. 8vo. 1675. Four sheets.

In the narrative, at page 102, some account of this work is given. It may be added, that the 'Brief account concerning the people called 'Quakers,' is couched in the assertion, and in the answer to the questions, which are here subjoined;

Assert. 'We are a people of God's gathering, 'who (many of us) had long waited for his ap-'pearance, and had undergone great distress for 'want thereof.'

Quest. 1. 'But some may say, What appear-'ance of the great God and Saviour, did ye 'want?

——— 2. 'How did God appear to you?

——— 3. 'How did God gather you?'

There are 'a few words,' concerning the Way of Peace, mentioned Rom. iii. 17. and also, in the postscript, concerning the doings and sufferings of the despised people called Quakers; and lastly, 'An Exhortation to true Christianity,' having this assertion prefixed:

'It is easy to pretend to Christ; but to be a 'true Christian is very precious, and many tri-'bulations and deep afflictions are to be passed 'through before it be attained unto, as those who 'are made so by the Lord experience.

53. To the Jews natural, and to the Jews spiritual; with a few words to England, my native country, &c. Some sensible, weighty queries, concerning some things very sweet and necessary to be experienced in the truly Christian state. Whereunto is added a postscript, containing some queries on Isaiah l. 10, 11. a scripture of deep counsel and concern to the darkened and distressed states of some among those that fear and obey the Lord. Whereunto are added, two or three queries touching the River and City of God, and the pure stillness, wherein God is known and exalted. As also, some questions answered concerning the true church, ministry, and maintenance, under the Gospel; and about the Lamb's war. Written in travailing bowels. 8vo. 1677. Four sheets and a half, and one and a half; or six sheets.

'It is the joy of my heart,' says our author in his preface, 'to receive good from God, to be 'filled with his blessings, to have my cup over-'flow; and that others may be helped, refresh-'ed, and gladded therewith; and, by the sweet 'taste thereof, led to wait for the opening of 'the same root and fountain of life in themselves, 'to yield living sap, and send forth living 'streams in them day by day.' This sentence seems to set forth the spring and tendency of gospel-communications; the temper of the pastor, and the purpose of being fed. The

reader may ask the question; Why should not the purpose be fulfilled in me?

It is not easy to abridge the address to the Jews natural. The author seems not to expect the restoration of their outward estate. Some may therefore ask, To what end have they been miraculously preserved a distinct people, in their dispersion, through almost eighteen centuries? It is easier to ask than to answer, to doubt than to solve; but whichever may be the termination of their long outward captivity; either a glorious restoration to Palestine, and conversion to Christianity; or simply an inward redemption into its faith; they serve in the mean time as a grand monument of the truth of the things recorded of them in ancient time; and as a clear, though indirect testimony to the truth even of the religion which they refuse to embrace. Our author thus expresses his love to them. 'You 'Jews,' says he, 'of the outward line of Abra-'ham, whose return to the Lord my soul most 'earnestly desireth after, and for which I have 'most vehemently, and wrestlingly, prayed to 'the Lord.' The bent of the book is to show them that all the occurrences which befell their forefathers were typical. The scripture references are of course to the Old Testament. Eight queries, in our author's Socratic way, are propounded for their consideration. One of them is thus: 'Query 3. Did not the Messiah come

' at the set time, at the time set by the holy ' Spirit of prophecy? Did he not come in the ' prepared body to do the will, and did he not ' do the will? And after his obedience to his ' Father, was he not cut off, though not for ' himself? And after his cutting off, were not ' ye made desolate? Why were ye made deso- ' late? Why did such a stroke come upon you, ' as never before? Oh! consider it. Read Dan. ' ix. 24. to the end of the chapter, and let him ' that readeth, understand.'

The address to the Jews spiritual, sets out upon the passage in Gen. xlix. 10: "The scep- " tre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law- " giver from between his feet, until Shiloh " come; and unto him shall the gathering of the " people be." This piece treats of the gathering of the Gentiles, and concludes with a warm, pathetic exhortation to the spiritually-minded. I cast my eye on the following: ' Oh! who ' would lose the precious fear of the covenant, ' which is clean, and endureth for ever, and ' keepeth clean and chaste to the Lord for ever! ' And who would miss of one law which God ' hath to write in the hearts of his children, ' when every law is a law of life.'———

There are in this piece three queries upon Psalm xlvi. 4, 5, 10; not specified in the title, In Penington's works a new title and preface is given with the 'Sensible, weighty Queries,' and

those on Isaiah l. Most of these queries are short. The reader, by turning to the place, may see the weightiness of the passage in Isaiah; and will find our author's queries on it weighty also, and of great concernment to every religious professor.

54. The Everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessed effects thereof, testified to from experience. 4to. 1678. One sheet and a half.

This is the short piece dated from Astrop, from which an extract is given at page 118.

55. A further testimony to Truth, revived out of the ruins of the Apostasy; or several things opened from the Spirit of Truth, touching the way of Life and Salvation; which will reach to the witness in the hearts of those whose spirits are quickened, and whose ears and understandings are opened by the Spirit and power of the Lord. Written in a deep sense, and tender love. 4to. 1680. i. e. posthumous.

The reader will find this piece divided into the following sections, though not denominated such:

'Some queries concerning Christ's righteousness, how it justifieth: whether as inwardly revealed and dwelling in the heart, or only as imputed, or both.'

'Concerning the true Church and Ministry.'

'An objection, concerning the *newness* of the way of Truth, answered: with a tender expostulating exhortation.'

'A caution to those who are at any time touched with the power of Truth, how they afterwards hearken to and let in the enemy, and so thereby have the good seed stolen away, the true sense lost, and the mind filled with prejudices and stumbling-blocks instead thereof.'

'An objection against the principle, which, in faithfulness to God, and in love to souls, we bear witness to, briefly answered.'

'Some questions and answers concerning the new covenant; opening the nature and way of it, as it is experimentally felt in the heart, and witnessed to in the holy scriptures.'

'A question or two, relating to Election, answered.'

'A question answered concerning the ground of men's misunderstanding and wresting of scriptures.'

'Some questions, answers, and queries, concerning deceit and deceivers; as what they are, what discovers them, how man may come out of them, and be preserved from them, &c.'

'That the way of life and salvation is freely held forth by God to all; and there is nothing in him to let, stop, or discourage any man

'from receiving his truth, and giving up to him 'in the faith and obedience of it; but very 'much to invite and encourage.'

'Some questions answered concerning the 'Spirit of Christ, and the spirit of the Scribes 'and Pharisees.'

'Some questions answered concerning blas-'phemy and blasphemers.'

'A question concerning miracles answered.' This relates to the objection that our Friends wrought no miracles in support of their mission.

'Some further questions answered concerning 'the new covenant.'

'A brief account concerning Silent Meetings; 'the nature, use, intent, and benefit of them.'

This last is an informing section, on the subject referred to;——but hear our author, in his preface, respecting the information on religious subjects received merely by reading. 'Dwell 'not in the notion, delight not in the outward 'knowledge of the thing itself (though the 'knowledge be ever so sweet, pleasing, satisfac-'tory, and demonstrative to the mind); but 'come to the everlasting spring. Feel the 'measure of life in thy particular, and that will 'lead thee to the spring of life, from whence the 'measure comes as a gift from the Father to 'thee, to bring thee to the Father. And singly 'for this end have I been drawn to write what

'follows, in service to the Lord, in faithfulness 'to him, in dear love to the souls of men.'——

The next is also a posthumous publication, which first appeared in the Folio edition of Isaac Penington's works, though written so long before as 1671. It is one of his longest works, viz.

56. Life and Immortality brought to light through the Gospel. Being a true discovery of the nature and ground of the religion and kingdom of Christ; in several weighty queries propounded, and other serious matters treated of, highly importing the eternal salvation of souls. Written by Isaac Penington, in the time of his imprisonment in Reading gaol. The date of this is 1671. As it was never separately published, the form and size cannot be given.

This work is in thirty sections. The first eight are queries—'1. On the state of the Church as 'it was in the apostles' days, and was to be afterwards. 2. On Deut. xxix. and xxx. compared 'with Rom. x. 3. On Destruction and Salvation. 4. On Col. i. 27, 28, 29. (translating 'ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, *in* the Gentiles). 5. On the Way of 'Life, and mystery of the Gospel. 6. On Righteousness or Justification. 7. Being under the 'Law, and under Grace. 8. For the professors 'of Christianity to consider of, and try their 'states by.' These are interesting. The first begins thus: 'Is thy spirit, heart, mind, soul,

'and body a temple for God to dwell in? Who 'dwells in thy heart? Doth the Holy Spirit, or 'the unclean spirit?'

The 9th section is about 'preaching the Gospel 'after the apostasy. 10. Concerning others not 'learning what God teacheth us [Friends], and 'concerning the way of his teaching us. 11. Of 'the three-fold appearance of Christ: under the 'law, in a body of flesh, and in his Spirit and 'power. 12. and 13. On Mounts Sinai and Sion. '14. The temple and sacrifices under the Gospel. '15. Questions concerning the light of Christ's 'Spirit answered, according to the scriptures, 'and experience. 16. The way to know one's 'election, and to be fully assured of it; as also 'concerning election itself. 17. Concerning 'the Priesthood of Christ, from Hebrews. 18. 'A brief relation of the estate or condition the 'Lord found many of us in, when he came 'to visit us, and make known to us the blessed 'ministration of his Spirit and power; and, of 'some of his dealings with us, in instructing and 'nurturing us up therein; with a few words of 'exhortation. 19. Concerning the Gospel-state. '20. Baptism, from Mark xvi. 16. 21. Some 'questions concerning the Gentiles' doing by 'nature the things contained in the law. 22. 'The rule of the children of the new covenant. '23. Queries concerning the law, or word, 'statutes, testimonies, judgments, &c. which 'David was so delighted in. 24. Observations

'on 2 Pet. iii. 14, 15, 16. 25. On the Gospel-'ministry, or right teaching and learning the 'mystery of life and salvation. 26. On the old 'and new Covenant. 27. Queries on Rom. vi. 'vii. and viii. 28. A further testimony concern-'ing the work of God upon our hearts, who are 'called Quakers. 29. A brief account of the 'ground of our worship, and how it cometh to 'pass that we cannot conform to the spirit of 'this world, or to the wills of men therein, but 'only to the Spirit and will of our God. 30. 'Some queries concerning knowing and owning 'the Lord Jesus Christ truly and aright, who 'hath been the only Saviour and Redeemer in 'all ages and generations; and there never was, 'and never shall be any other.'

Such are the subjects which are investigated in this book. In the eleventh section (to give a few touches of some of them), under the division treating of Christ's appearance under the law, there is probably as full a testimony to the oneness of the Son and Father, as can any where be met with. This is however a subject to be spoken and thought of with reverence. The same subject is spoken of with equal confidence, though on a different occasion, in the eighteenth. Thus, 'Very deep and weighty was that answer of 'Christ to Philip. When Philip said, '*Show us* "*the Father, and it sufficeth. Hast thou not seen**

* I apprehend this is a typographical error, for *known*. The edition has not a few, if they abound in proportion with the parts I have examined.

'me *Philip*,' said Christ. '*How is it that thou sayest, Show us the Father? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also.*' Are they not one nature, one wisdom—one pure eternal Being? Can the one possibly be seen, and not the other? Though they may be distinguished in manifestation, in the hearts where they are received; is it possible they should be divided and separated the one from the other? Those that thus apprehend, plainly manifest, that they never received the true knowledge of the Father and Son; but have only notions and apprehensions of man's wisdom concerning them.'

To the objection that the Friends do not use the Lord's Prayer, is this reply: 'Truly, Christ, our Lord and Master, who taught his disciples to pray formerly, hath taught us also to pray that very prayer; though not to say the words outwardly in the will of men, or in our own will. He hath taught our hearts to breathe after the same things, even that the name of our heavenly Father might be hallowed or sanctified more and more,—that he might reign more in men's spirits, and the kingdom of sin and satan be thrown down; and that his *will* might *be done* even in our *earth, as it is done in heavenly places*, where all the hosts of God obey him; and that we might have every day a portion of the heavenly bread, whereby our souls may live to him, and con-

'venient food and provision outward also, ac-
'cording as he seeth good, who careth for us.

'Now as we are kept in the light, and watch
'to the light which discovers things, we see what
'we are kept out of, and what we are at any
'time entangled in, and so trespass against the
'Lord; and then we are taught to beg pardon,
'and wait where pardon is to be received,
'through our Advocate, even as God hath
'taught us to forgive. Yet this doth not em-
'bolden any of the little ones to sin; but they
'pray *that they may not be led* (or fall) *into*
'*temptation*; but may witness deliverance from
'the *evil*, which the enemy watcheth to betray
'and insnare them with. And these cries are
'put up to him who is ready to hear; and who
'*can* answer and fulfil the desires of them that
'love and fear him; and indeed not only so, but
'they are also put up in faith that, in the way of
'God, the soul *shall obtain* and receive what
'it prayeth and waiteth for.'

From the section on 'the Gospel-state,' a part of the summing-up or conclusion, after a glorious description* of that state, may serve as a speci-men.

'Now if any one doubt concerning the truth
'of these things, this word is in my heart to
'such, *Come and see.* Oh! come and see the
'glory of the Lord, and the power of his life,

* Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. Psal. lxxxvii. 3.

'and righteousness of his kingdom, which is
'now revealed, after the long night of darkness!
'Oh! blessed, blessed, be his name, who hath
'caused his light to shine, and opened the eye
'which was once blind to see it!'

'*Quest.* But how may I come to see the
'glory of the Gospel-state?'

'*Answ.* Come to the seed, and wait to feel
'and receive the power which raiseth the seed
'in the heart; and bringeth the heart, soul,
'mind, and spirit, into union with the seed.'

'*Quest.* But how may I come to the seed;
'and how may I wait aright, to feel and receive
'the power which raiseth it?'

'*Answ.* Mind that in thee which searcheth
'the heart, and what it reacheth to, and quick-
'eneth in thee; what it draweth thee from, what
'it draweth thee to; how it showeth thee thine
'own inability to follow, and how it giveth
'ability when thou art weary of toiling and
'labouring of thyself.———

——— 'The Lord make thee sensible of
'the visits, drawings, and leadings of his holy
'Spirit; and guide thy feet thereby into the
'way of truth and peace. *Amen.*'

The section on Baptism will be easily conceived to recommend spiritual, and not water-baptism. On this subject much has been written

by Friends; but those who wish to investigate the subject deeply, as it may be supported by scripture authority, would do well to peruse this dissertation on it.

After the series of the thirty sections, there is a query, 'Concerning Imputation,' a famous subject, the occasion of much debate in the Christian world, and concerning which no view of our author's belief has yet been given in these pages. With this query therefore may be concluded this short review of the important and instructive work, 'Life and Immortality brought to 'light by the Gospel.'

'In what state was Abraham when faith was 'imputed to him for righteousness? Was he in 'the ungodly state; in the state of unbelief and 'disobedience to the Spirit and power of the 'Lord; or was he in the sense of God's power, 'in the belief of him who could raise up 'his son from the dead; and, in the performance 'of obedience unto him, giving up his son at 'the Lord's command?'

'And in what state must we be, when we wit-'ness faith imputed to us also for righteousness? 'Must we not be in the sense of the same power, 'and in the belief of it, and in the obedience of 'faith? Read Rom. iv. and consider: for the 'righteousness of the gospel is not imputed in, 'or by, the works of the law, but in the obedi-'ence of faith.'

'It is true, God justifieth the ungodly; 'through faith he makes them just and godly; 'but doth he justify or accept them in the un-'godly state? Doth he not first make a change 'in them by his power? Doth he not first, in 'some measure, purify their hearts by faith?'

The next posthumous work, published in the general collection, is also of considerable magnitude. It is without a title, but appears to have been intended as an answer to some questions, and a reply to some animadversions of a certain person whose name is now lost. We may call it

57. A Reply to queries and animadversions, written in the year 1667.

It appears that our author's antagonist, or probably a friendly objector, had been pleading for the value and sufficiency of that knowledge of religion which is merely derived from an acquaintance with the scriptures; because the superiority, and indispensable need, of the Spirit pervade the whole of this Reply. Like many of our author's books, it is arranged under various heads. They are these: 'The rule of the new 'covenant, or that which God hath appointed to 'be the rule to the children of the new cove-'nant.—Christ.—The form of sound words.—'Inward impressions.—The Light.—Justifica-'tion.—God's love to mankind.—Baptism.—'Perfection.'

The animadversions appear by the replies to have been ten, and it seems probable that their author was a member of some church or congregation, whose tenets he was endeavouring to defend.

This is a choice performance, and it is rather difficult to select extracts few enough to suit the conciseness of this review. The following, on two points (if the latter may be reverently called so), on which many people think themselves able to speak, may be acceptable to the reader who is either already imbued with the principles of Friends, or is desirous of knowing them with precision.

'Yet (though we do own Christ to be the 'rule) we do not deny making use of the 'scriptures to try doctrines and forms of religion 'by; but know that what is of God doth and 'will agree therewith; and what doth not agree 'therewith is not of God; and that our fore-'fathers in the faith were led to batter the su-'perstitions and idolatries of the Papists, by the 'testimony of the scriptures. And we have also 'the testimony of the scriptures with us, both to 'the light and Spirit within; and against forms 'formerly invented, or now practised, out of the 'life and power. But we believe the Spirit to 'be a touchstone beyond the scriptures, and to 'be that which giveth ability to try and discern 'not only words, but spirits.——And for call-'ing the scriptures, The Word of God, we can-

' not but look upon it as an improper expression;
' they being many words, not the one Word;
' and Christ is called in the scripture, not only
' the Word God*, but the Word of God. And
' if, in the fear of the Lord, and true sense,
' we keep herein to the expressions of scripture,
' and its form of words which are sound, surely
' we cannot justly be blamed for so doing.'

This is an extract from the first section. The second, entire, runs thus:

' Christ is that Word of eternal life, which was
' glorified with the Father before the world was;
' who, in the full appointed time, took up the
' body of flesh prepared by the Father, to do the
' will in; and did the will in it, fulfilling all
' righteousness, to the satisfaction of the very
' heart of the Father; for whose name's sake the
' sins of believers are pardoned. And this same
' Word of eternal life, and no other, which took
' that body of flesh upon him, is also manifested,
' and dwelleth in the hearts of his saints; who
' [he might more clearly have said, and], as
' they receive him in the faith which is of him,
' dwells in them richly, manifesting in the vessel
' the treasures of his divine wisdom and know-
' ledge. Now, this is the precious knowledge of
' Christ indeed; and this is it every one is to

* This precise expression is not found in our bible. It shows, however, the author's anti-Socinian turn; and probably refers to John i. 1.

'wait for; to find a measure of the same life,
'the fulness whereof dwells in him bodily,
'dwelling in our mortal bodies, and making us
'like unto him, in spirit, nature, and conver-
'sation. And he that knoweth not, but op-
'poseth this, in any of its appearances or opera-
'tions, either in himself or others, is so far of
'the dark antichristian spirit.'

In the section on the love of God to mankind, absolute reprobation is impugned; but I conclude these extracts with a few touches of the section on Perfection.

'Christ is a perfect physician, and is able to
'work a perfect cure on the heart that believeth
'in him, and waiteth upon him.—Christ likewise
'bids his disciples be perfect, as their heavenly
'Father is perfect; and the apostle bids men
'perfect holiness in the fear of God, that
'they might be fully separated from, and not so
'much as touch, the unclean thing.'

'Did Christ cure perfectly outwardly, in the
'days of his flesh; and shall he not cure per-
'fectly inwardly, in the day of his Spirit? Yes,
'certainly. The lame, the deaf, the blind, the
'dumb, the lepers, waiting upon him in the
'way of his covenant, shall be cured by him as
'perfectly inwardly, as ever the others were
'outwardly.'

The next piece in the collection, as indeed all the remainder which I shall have occasion to mention, is also posthumous, viz.

58. A few Experiences concerning some of the weighty things relating to God's everlasting kingdom. Given forth in true and tender love, for the help of any such of the race of the true travellers, as may stand in need thereof.

This was written in Reading gaol, in 1671. It consists of the following particulars: '1. A 'faithful testimony concerning the true and 'pure way of life; with breathings for such as 'have desires after it, and yet are strangers to 'it. 2. Concerning the perfecting of God's 'work in the heart. 3. Concerning the true 'Christ; how it may be certainly and infallibly 'known which is he. 4. Some queries to such 'as affirm the scriptures to be the only rule, and 'deny the Spirit, the Seed of the kingdom, the 'new covenant, the holy leaven of life, the law 'written in the heart, to be the rule of the 'children of the new covenant. 5. Concerning 'the Light, wherewith Christ, the Life, en-'lightens every man. 6. A few words further 'concerning Perfection. 7. Concerning Impu-'tation of righteousness. 8. Some queries con-'cerning the time and work of Reformation. '9. Some queries concerning the Spirit of 'Christ, or the Spirit of the Father (it being 'one and the same Spirit), for those who take 'themselves to be Christians (and under the 'gospel-dispensation) to consider and examine

' themselves by, that they may not be deceived,
' either concerning their present estate here, or
' the eternal estate of their souls hereafter; see-
' ing the apostle so expressly saith, ' If any man
" hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of
" his.' Rom. viii. 10. Of the true way, the
' way of holiness, the way of life, and of the
' true teaching and knowledge. 11. Concerning
' separation from the spirit and ways of the
' world.'

The last extract given from the preceding work, was intended to show our author's, and the Society's views, on the subject of Perfection. A few queries, selected from §. 2. of this work, may be a suitable supplement.

' Is it not the will of God that his people and
' children should be sanctified in soul, in body,
' in spirit? — Did not [Christ] bid them
' pray, ' Thy kingdom come, thy will be done
" in earth, as it is in heaven?' And would he
' never have them believe and expect that it
' should be done in earth, as it is in heaven?'

' Doth not he who hath the true, pure, living
' hope (which anchors within the veil), purify
' himself, even as he is pure?'

The 9th section is very weighty. The third of its queries may serve as a specimen.

' Doth the Spirit of Christ dwell in thee?
' Hath the stronger man cast the strong man
' out of thee, and taken possession of thy heart,

'and doth he dwell therein? Then thou mayest 'truly say, that thou art built up by God an 'habitation for him in the Spirit. Then thou 'art washed and cleansed by him from thy 'filthiness; and lusts or vain thoughts do not 'lodge in thee. For the holy Spirit of Christ 'will not dwell where such things lodge; but "Come out from among them, and be ye sepa- "rate, and touch not the unclean thing, and "I will receive you, and be a father to you, and "ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the "Lord Almighty, in whom I will dwell and "walk."

The next piece is also a production of the same imprisonment.

59. A treatise concerning God's teachings, and Christ's law, with some other things of weighty importance, particularly mentioned after the preface; written by I. P. prisoner at Reading gaol for the testimony of Truth.

This, like most of our author's tracts, is divided into numbered sections. '1. Concerning God's 'teachings. 2. Concerning the law of Christ. '3. A brief relation concerning myself, in re- 'ference to what has befallen me in my pursuit 'after Truth. 4. A question about preaching 'the everlasting gospel answered. 5. Concern- 'ing Christ's ministry or priesthood. 6. Con- 'cerning the true knowledge of Christ. 7. A 'few words more concerning the right way of

'knowing, as it is witnessed unto in the scrip-
'tures, and experienced in the hearts of those
'that truly and livingly know the Lord. 8. Con-
'cerning Christ's righteousness, which is the
'righteousness of all his saints. 9. Of the Grace
'of the Gospel. 10. A question answered con-
'cerning real holiness. 11. Concerning the law
'of sin in the fleshly mind, and the law of life
'and holiness in the renewed mind; and whence
'each have their strength. 12. Concerning
'God's gathering us home to himself, who are
'a people despised and rejected of men, and in
'scorn by them called Quakers. 13. A few
'words concerning the worship which our God
'hath taught us.'

The third section of this work is already given, nearly the whole of it, at page 11. If we take sections 5. and 13. they will form an extract which will comprehend a large portion of what, speaking in the usual manner, would be called Quaker-divinity.

Sect. 5. 'Christ is made by God a minister
'or high priest over the spiritual Israel of
'God. Not after the law of a carnal command-
'ment, but after the power of an endless life (as
'Heb. vii. 16. and chap. viii. 2.), and he mini-
'sters with his Spirit and power unto, and in,
'all his. So that he that knows Christ's ministry,
'knows the power, the life, the Spirit in which
'he ministers; but he that is not acquainted
'with these, is yet to learn to know Christ

'aright, and to believe in him unto life and sal-
'vation; which are wrapped up, comprehend-
'ed, revealed, and communicated in the power
'wherewith he ministers. For the very begin-
'ning of Christ's ministry is in the Spirit and
'power of God, whereby he redeems out of the
'spirit and power of satan: and to this, men
'are to be turned, if they will witness salvation
'by Jesus Christ; even to the light and power
'of God's holy Spirit, which breaks the dark-
'ness and strength of the kingdom of satan in
'the heart. For indeed, all literal professions,
'beliefs, knowledges, and practices, out of the
'life and power, satan can transform himself
'into, and uphold and maintain his kingdom
'under, in the hearts of men; but the inward
'light and power of life breaks it, where the
'minds of people are by the Spirit of the Lord
'turned thereto, and subjected under its rule
'and government.'

Sect. 13. 'Our worship is a deep exercise of
'our spirits before the Lord, which doth not
'consist in an exercising the natural part or
'natural mind, either to hear or speak words, or
'in praying according to what we of ourselves
'can apprehend or comprehend concerning our
'needs; but we wait, in silence of the fleshly
'part, to hear with the new ear what God shall
'please to speak inwardly in our own hearts, or
'outwardly through others, who speak with the
'new tongue, which he unlooseth, and teacheth

'to speak; and we pray in the Spirit, and with 'the new understanding, as God pleaseth to 'quicken, draw forth, and open our hearts to- 'wards himself.'

'Thus our minds being gathered into the 'measure, or gift of grace, which is by Jesus 'Christ; here we appear before God; and here 'our God and his Christ is witnessed in the midst 'of us. This is that gathering in the name, 'which the promise is to; where we meet to- 'gether, waiting with one consent on the Father 'of life, bowing and confessing to him in the 'name of his Son; and that fleshly part, that 'fleshly understanding, that fleshly wisdom, that 'fleshly will, which will not bow, is chained 'down and kept under by the power of life, 'which God stretcheth forth over it, and sub- 'dueth it by. So then there is the sweet com- 'munion enjoyed, the sweet love flowing, the 'sweet peace reaped; — the sweet joy and re- 'freshment in the Lord our righteousness, who 'causeth righteousness to drop down from 'heaven, and truth to spring up out of the 'earth. And so our Father is felt blessing us, 'blessing our land, blessing our habitations, de- 'lighting in us and over us to do us good; and 'our land yields its increase to the Lord of life, 'who hath redeemed it, and planted the precious 'plants and seeds of life in it.'

60. A question answered, concerning reading the Scriptures aright. No date.

This is a short piece. The question is, 'How 'may a man know whether he readeth the Scrip- 'tures to his advantage and benefit; or whether 'he readeth them to his disadvantage or hurt?'

The following short quotation further opens the nature, and the cause, of this question:

'He that reads the Scriptures in a true mea- 'sure of life received from God, he reads them 'aright; and whenever he so readeth, it is to his 'benefit. He that readeth out of that, readeth '[or may read] to his hurt: that being then up 'in him which misunderstands, misapplies, and 'grows conceited, wise, and confident, according 'to the flesh; and so he is thereby liable to, 'and in great danger of, setting up his interpre- 'tations instead of the meaning of God's Spirit; 'and of condemning that which doth not assent 'and agree therewith [with them], though it be 'ever so necessary and precious a truth of God, 'and ever so fully demonstrated by his Spirit, 'to those who are in the true faith and under- 'standing.'

The Jews, the Scribes, and Pharisees, are given as practical instances of reading to their hurt. The remedy, and the knowledge that a man has it, will be easily supposed to lie in the enlightened spiritual understanding; but for the application I must refer to the piece itself. There is subjoined, 'A few words to such as com- 'plain for want of Power.' This short and ex-

cellent piece (Vol. ii. p. 540, of 4to edition, and vol. iv. p. 336, of the 8vo.), after a lively testimony to the source of Power, the power of the endless life, thus concludes: 'So that it concerns 'all people seriously to consider, whether the 'reason why they have not power, be not be- 'cause they do not receive Christ, who hath all 'power in heaven and earth given to him. 'For many talk of Christ; but few come to him 'in the Father's drawings; so will not receive 'him: like the Jews, who waited for his ap- 'pearance, and yet rejected him when he 'came.'

61. Somewhat relating to Church-government, wherein the necessity, usefulness, and blessed effects of the true Church-government, are here and there hinted at; and *this* clearly manifested, That the authority and power of Christ's Spirit in his church is no usurped or antichristian authority, nor contrary to the true light and liberty of any particular member, but a cherisher and preserver of it. As also remarks on some passages in a late book entitled, 'Antichrist's transformations within, 'discovered by the light within.' Wherein the antichristian transformer is made manifest, and the light within cleared from his false imputations and pretences to it. Written in obedience to him that is true, who hath given a certain testimony against him that is false, to very many in this his day; and among

others to me also, whom he hath pleased to gather and own among his children and servants in truth.

This book, though not published during the author's life, was probably written about the time, when some who had been members of the society of Friends were beginning to find fault with the outward order and discipline that was then arising in the society. By the citations made from the opponent's book, it appears that the general argument of it was, that a subjection to the regulations of the body, is an infringement of the liberty of the individual, and an inducement for his forsaking the immediate teachings of the light within, for the dominion of men: whom he denies to have any such authority committed to them by the alone Head of the church. The general reply is, that the true Spirit in the Church does not contradict the same Spirit in the members; and that the superior degree which results from the union of many enlightened minds, helps, protects, and cherishes the lesser measure in individuals. This principle is of course variously held forth according to the various branches of the adversary's attack.

There doth not appear to be any particular practice of the society touched upon, except the standing or kneeling of the friends in a meeting, and the uncovering of the men, during the time of public prayer. This practice had been opposed by John Perrot many years before 1675,

which I have conceived to be about the time of the writing of this piece by Isaac Penington; because connected with it is another piece in reply to John Pennyman, an adversary whose book bears that date. This is, in the order of the works,

62. Some misrepresentations of Me concerning Church-government cleared; and the power and authority of God's Spirit, in governing his church, testified to; by one whom it hath pleased the Lord to make a member of the church which he hath gathered, and preserveth by his own Almighty arm; who accounteth it his duty and honour in the Lord to be subject to the government and ordering of his Spirit and power in his church. I. P.

The reader may observe that part of the title of Penington's book, No. 13, 'An Examination 'of the Grounds or Causes, &c.' is as follows: 'Whereunto somewhat is added about the 'authority and government, Christ excluded 'out of his church: which occasioneth some-'what concerning the true church-government. 1660. 'Now this latter part,' says he, 'hath 'been so misrepresented as if, because the wrong 'church-government was excluded, the exclu-'sion of all church-government was intended by 'me, there being no notice taken of my owning 'the true church-government; but only some 'passages of my disowning the false produced; 'as if they intended to overturn and deny all 'church-government.'

It is remarkable how, in different ages, and on different occasions, the opposing spirit avails itself of partial citation. But to advert to the subject, our author's opponent here was John Pennyman, who was endeavouring to show that his former sentiments on discipline were opposite to those which he held at the time of this controversy. Twelve citations are adduced of Pennyman from our author's 'Examination,' &c. These Penington confirms by some addition to each; and then to each superadds a question in order further to open his intention. Thus the work is one of those which are clear, and pleasant to be read, for the order in which it is written. The least citation, with its correspondent confirmation and question, is rather too long to be given here. Subjoined are some considerations on Church-government. Pennyman had joined the Society; but taking offence at some things which he thought he had discovered to be wrong in it, had left it, and had become an opposer: though still laying claim to extraordinary revelations. He was contemporary with Rogers, another opposer, and his works are still extant. There appears in this book of our author's a benevolent and compassionate regard for his adversary, whom he rather bewails than inveighs against. 'I have been,' says he, 'in a great travail of spirit 'for J. Pennyman, the Lord having showed me 'his spirit and state; and this hath been the cry 'of my heart to the God and Father of my life

' for him, in great brokenness and tears, many ' times; Father, forgive him, for he knows not ' what he does. He knows not what Spirit and ' power he acts against, nor what spirit and ' power it is that leads him.' In another place he says, ' Truth teacheth that modesty, tem- ' perance, humility, tenderness, and sobriety, ' that I dare not despise the voice that pretends ' to the anointing in any, until I have made trial ' of it. Yea, John Pennyman's voice and testi- ' mony, I durst not condemn, until the Lord my ' God, in the unerring light and pure springing ' life, manifested unto me that it was not of him, ' but of the transforming enemy.'

65. The Seed of God, and of his Kingdom, treated and testified of, according to the Scriptures of truth, and according to true experience felt in the heart from the God of Truth.

This piece will admit of some analysis. It first treats of the Seed of the kingdom by answers to the following questions: ' 1. What the Seed ' is? 2. Who is the sower of this seed? 3. ' Where is this seed to be found? 4. In what ' sorts of earth is this heavenly seed sown? 5. ' In what sort of earth it brings forth good fruit ' to perfection? 6. How may the ground that ' is bad be made good? Was not the ground ' which is now good, once bad; and may not ' the ground that is now bad be made good?'

The work is next distributed under three heads; namely,

1. What is hid or wrapped up in this seed.
2. The nature of it.
3. The effects.

'Indeed,' says the author, 'there is so much 'wrapped up in it, as the heart of man cannot 'conceive, much less the tongue utter; yet 'somewhat have I felt, and somewhat is upon my 'heart to say in answer to this thing, under these 'four heads following:'

'First, The glory of the kingdom of Heaven, 'the glory of the everlasting kingdom, is hid 'and wrapped up in it, as in a seed.——'

'Secondly, The divine nature of God Al-'mighty is hid and wrapped up in it.'

'Thirdly, All the graces and virtues of God's 'holy Spirit are hid and wrapped up in this one 'seed. There is nothing God can require of 'the soul, nor [and] nothing the soul can de-'sire of God, but is hid and wrapped up in this 'seed. ——— To make this a little more plain 'and evident ——— I shall instance in some 'particulars:'

'1. The pure, living knowledge of the Father, 'and of his Son Christ Jesus, is wrapped up in 'this seed.'

'2. Faith, the true faith, the lively, effectual, 'saving, conquering faith, which gives victory 'over the world, and over the devil and his 'temptations, is contained or wrapped up in 'this seed.'

'3. The pure fear, the holy fear, the heavenly

'fear, which is of a clean and heavenly nature, 'and endureth for ever, is also in this seed.'

'4. The pure, divine love is in it.'

'5. The pure hope, the hope of the upright, 'the hope which makes not ashamed, the hope 'which goes within the veil, and is a sure and 'steadfast anchor there, staying the mind upon 'the Lord, who keeps such in perfect peace; 'this hope is contained in, and springeth from 'the seed.'

'6. The true patience, which obtains the 'crown, which makes perfect and entire, so that 'there is nothing wanting where it hath its per-'fect work (Jam. i. 4.); the patience which 'enables quietly to suffer any chastisement from 'God, or any affliction, or hard dealing from 'men, it is contained in, and given with, this 'seed.'

'7. The Lamb's meekness is in it.'

'8. Here poverty of spirit is witnessed.'

'9. Here mercifulness towards others is ex-'perienced:' [I give this entire.] 'for he that 'is brought hither lives only by mercy; and he 'that lives by mercy, and is daily what he is by 'mercy, cannot but be merciful to others.'

'10. Here the true mourning and lamenting 'after the Lord, and his precious life and pre-'sence; and because of the presence or power 'of that which hinders the growth of the seed, 'and the soul's union with and enjoyment of the 'Lord in it, is witnessed.'

'11. The true hungering and thirsting after 'righteousness ariseth from this seed.'

'12. The true sobriety, moderation, and temperance, ariseth from this seed.'

'Lastly, to name no more, the cross which mortifies and crucifies to the world, and to sin, can only be taken up in the seed, or by virtue of the seed.'

'Fourthly, The new covenant, which God makes with the new Israel, by which he makes the heart new and writes his law in it, and takes away the stony heart, and heals all their backslidings, and loves them freely, and puts his Spirit within them, causing them to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes and judgments, and do them; even the holy agreement of the soul with God in Christ Jesus, is in this seed. ——— Keep here, thou never goest out of the holy agreement with God and with Christ; for in this grace and truth, in this seed of life, there is nothing that disagrees with them.'

The other two sections, concerning the nature and the effects of the Seed, are somewhat less capable of abridgment, and I have given to this work its full proportion of notice. It concludes with 'Some queries [thirty-two in number] concerning God's kingdom, whereby the Seed thereof may be the better illustrated and understood.'

64. An Epistle to all serious professors of the Christian religion: wherein a brief touch of my knowledge, sense, belief, and experience concerning the Godhead, the offering up of

the Lord Jesus Christ in his body on the tree, as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Father, and the imputation of his righteousness to those who believe in his name and power, is nakedly laid before them: wherein I am not alone, but one with those who have so learned and experienced the same in the leadings and light of his Holy Spirit. Written in love to them, that they might have the better understanding of us, as to these things, and might not think otherwise, either of us, or of the Truth of our God, which we bear witness to, than there is cause, to their own hurt and prejudice.

To the curious in what generally goes by the name of Christian divinity, and too many such there are who do not like Penington seek after the experience of the life of religion in their hearts, this is an interesting piece, because it touches on controverted subjects. Since the time of Isaac Penington, the 7th verse in the 5th chapter of John's first epistle has been shown to be an interpolation, by as much proof as the nature of the case will admit; namely, that it is not found, as the learned are now generally agreed, in any Greek manuscript written before the year 1500. This has been admitted by one of its admirers, and a great biblical critic*. How it got into our bibles is not material here. The doctrine which it contains, as Richard Claridge among our own writers observes, is to be found in other parts of the New Testament. It is pro-

* Bengel.

bable that our early Friends, in common with most other people then, received it as scripture. Claridge and Penn however have noticed the doubts which had begun to prevail.

Penington, treating in this epistle of the Godhead, takes 1 John, v. 7. as scripture; and, having quoted it, adds, 'This, I believe from 'my heart, and have infallible demonstrations 'of; for I know three, and feel three in spirit, 'even an eternal Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, 'which are but one eternal God. And I feel 'them also one, and have fellowship with them '(through the tender mercy of the Lord) in 'their life, and in their redeeming power. And 'here I lie low before the Lord in the sensible 'life, not desiring to know and comprehend 'notionally; but to feel the thing inwardly, 'truly, sensibly, and effectually; yea, indeed, 'this is to me far beyond what I formerly knew 'notionally concerning them: and I cannot but 'invite others hither.'

'Now, consider seriously, if a man from his 'heart believe thus concerning the eternal Power 'and Godhead, that the Father is God, the 'Word God, the Holy Spirit God; and that 'these are one eternal God, waiting so to know 'God, and to be subject to him accordingly; 'is not this man in a right frame of heart to-'wards the Lord, in this respect? Indeed, friends, 'we do know God sensibly and experimentally 'to be a Father, Word, and Spirit, and we wor-'ship the Father, in the Son, by his own Spirit,

'and here meet with the seal of acceptance with 'him.'

——— 'Concerning the offering of the 'Lord Jesus Christ without the gates of Jeru- 'salem, I do exceedingly honour and esteem 'that offering, believing it had relation to the 'sins of the whole world, and was a propitiatory 'sacrifice to the Father therefore [for them]. 'And surely he that is redeemed out of the 'world up to God by Christ, cannot deny that 'Christ was his ransom, and that he was bought 'with a price, and therefore is to glorify God, 'with his body and spirit, which are God's. 1 Cor. 'vi. 20.' He adduces also 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. and Heb. ix. 14. and then goes on, 'This we do own 'singly and nakedly, as in the sight of the Lord; 'though I must confess we do not lay the sole 'stress upon that which is outward and visible '(though we truly and fully acknowledge it in 'its place), but upon that which is inward and 'invisible.———The outward flesh is not the 'meat indeed, nor the outward blood the drink 'indeed; but it is the Spirit, the life, the sub- 'stance, which the birth that is born of the 'Spirit feeds upon, and lives by. Oh! consider 'seriously, and wait on the Lord rightly to un- 'derstand that scripture, John vi. 63. "It is "the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth "nothing. The words that I speak unto you, "they are spirit, and they are life."

It would be difficult to abridge what the author says concerning Imputation. It may suffice to

hint that it is not to sinful persons, but to such as turning to the grace which visits them in their sinful state, are by it in measure transplanted from the evil root, into the holy, where they partake of the virtue and fatness of the true olive-tree.

65. A Reply to an answer of some queries given forth by me, I. P. concerning the Gospel-baptism; with answers to some other queries returned in a paper subscribed N. B.

There is a date to this, which shows it to have been one of his latest writings, viz. 18th 5th month, 1679. The author first states his own query, then his respondent's answer, and next his own reply; and so throughout. Next he answers N. B.'s questions, and winds up with the sense given to him of the 'mystery of Christ, 'and of his enlightening, quickening, circum-'cising, and baptizing.' But an abridgment of this piece would be difficult.

(a) Five Epistles to Friends of Chalfont, dated in 1666, 1670, and 1671, most of them from prison, follow next in the second Quarto volume; and then a short piece entitled,

(b) Some Queries concerning compulsion in religion, written in Reading gaol in 1670.

One can scarcely call these books, nor probably the following short pieces.

(c) Concerning the dispensation of the Gospel, or the dispensation of the Son in Spirit, which is the last dispensation, whereby the mystery of God, the mystery of the work of redemption

is finished in the heart, all created anew inwardly, all subdued that is contrary to God, the soul brought into, or translated into, the eveflasting kingdom, and the kingdom at length delivered up to the Father, and God becomes all in all: where all names cease, and the pure eternal Being is known, united to, and lived in, after an unutterable manner. Dated 18th 9th month, 1678.

(d) Some Experiences which it hath pleased the Lord to give me concerning his way, his truth, his church and people, against whom the gates of hell cannot prevail.

In this review most of the tenets of the Society of Friends have been occasionally displayed. The postscript of the piece last-mentioned relates to a subject which has often occasioned a sneer, and sets that subject in a clear light. On this account, and because it abounds with unbounded philanthropy, the reader will not probably be displeased to see it here.

'I do not say that I as a man am infallible, or 'that any of us as men are infallible; but God's 'light, God's grace, God's truth, God's Spirit, 'God's wisdom and power, is infallible; and so 'far as we partake of that, are gathered into and 'abide in that, we partake of that which is in-'fallible. ——— And Oh! let not men rest in, 'or be contented with, that knowledge which is 'fallible, but press after unity and fellowship 'with the Lord in his infallible Spirit; there

'being no true union nor fellowship with him
'in any thing that is fallible.'

'Oh! that Protestants, Papists, Jews, Turks,
'Indians, did all know and own this light, that
'there might be an end of the darkness and
'misery, wherewith mankind hath been so long
'overwhelmed; and happiness, both in particu-
'lar nations and in the whole world, might be
'experienced in the stead thereof. For men's
'erring from the light and Spirit of God hath
'been the cause of all their misery; and their
'returning to the light and Spirit of God (from
'which all have erred) will take away the cause
'of their misery; and in it (as they faithfully
'[become] subject to the Lord and travel there-
'in) they shall find his power, love, and mercy
'revealed, towards their restoring unto happi-
'ness.' '31st 5th month, 1679.'

The last piece in the volume, and probably the last piece which this diligent hand ever wrote, is the following, of which, for the latter reason, I shall give a very copious extract.

(e) Concerning the times and seasons, both which have been, and which are yet to be.

This piece appears to have been written at different times. The first part, and which more immediately answers to the title, is as follows:

'When God made man in his own image,
'placing him in Paradise, and giving him do-
'minion over the works of his hands; then was
'a time of great joy to Adam and Eve, and

' should have still been so to them, and all man-
' kind, had they continued in the state wherein
' they were created.'

' When Eve, and by her means Adam, hark-
' ened to the voice of the serpent, disobeyed
' the Lord their Creator, aspiring after wisdom
' and the knowledge of good and evil, out of
' God's way; then was a season of misery to
' Adam, and all his posterity; the holy and
' heavenly image being lost, and a cursed image
' gained in the stead thereof, and so man thrust
' out of Paradise, and the blessedness thereof,
' into the earth, which was cursed for man's sake.
' So in this state sin and the curse is man's por-
' tion, instead of the holiness and blessedness
' which his Creator had allotted him.'

' When God promised the blessed Seed, and
' revealed himself to the fathers in the faith, be-
' getting sons to himself, who heard his voice,
' obeyed and walked with him; then was a
' blessed time and season to them, though sin
' and death reigned in the world. But when the
' sons of God also forgot him, and mingled their
' seed with the corrupted world, then the deluge
' came, sweeping away all but Noah with his
' family, and the creatures saved in the ark.'

' When the Lord chose the Jews to be a people
' to himself, from amidst all nations, delivering
' them by his out-stretched arm out of Egypt,
' destroying Pharaoh and his host, and led them
' through the wilderness, fitting the succeeding

' generation for the good land, bringing them ' into it, blessing and establishing them in ' it, while they feared him and walked in co- ' venant with him, then was a blessed time and ' season with that people. But when they pro- ' voked God, brought his judgments often, and ' at last utter ruin and desolation upon them- ' selves; then were seasons of great misery and ' distress, and at last of utter destruction to ' them.'

' While the Gentiles were cast off, and were ' no people, being of the corrupt seed which ' God hath not chosen, nor had any delight in, ' and while they knew not the living God, but ' worshipped stocks and stones, and so were ' liable to the pouring down of his wrath and ' indignation upon all occasions, and to utter ' ruin and destruction, when their iniquities ' were full; it was a sad time and season with ' them, wherein they were estranged from the ' life of God, and his holy covenant of promise, ' and were without God in the world.'

' When the Lord preached the gospel to the ' Gentiles, by his holy apostles and ministers, ' manifesting Christ to them, the hope of glory, ' the mystery hid from ages and generations, ' engrafting them into the holy vine and olive- ' tree, giving them to partake of the sweetness ' and fatness thereof, even of the riches of his ' grace and goodness in his Son, who is eternal ' life, and gives eternal life to all his; then was ' such a time and season of love, grace, mercy,

'and peace, from God our Father, and from the 'Lord Jesus Christ (both towards Jews and Gen- 'tiles), as had not been known in the world 'before.'

'When the Christian church apostatized, the 'love in many waxing cold, men minding the 'name of Christianity, and form of godliness, 'but not the life and power, and so the Lord 'was provoked against them, to remove their 'candlestick out of its place, and give up the 'outward court to the Gentiles; and so the Spirit 'was lost or departed from, the life lost, the 'power lost, the everlasting gospel hid from 'men's eyes, and darkness and men's inventions 'set up instead thereof in nations, tongues, and 'people, and the witnesses to any appearances 'of God's living truth and holy power perse- 'cuted; then was a sad time, then was a season 'of death and darkness reigning over all nations, 'kindreds, tongues, and people, and the cup 'of fornication drunk by them all, and all gene- 'rally bewitched by it, except those whose 'names were written in the Lamb's book of life. 'This was the greatest time of darkness (wherein 'the mystery of iniquity most deeply wrought, 'in the deepest ways of deceit) that ever was 'in the world.'

'When the church comes again out of the 'wilderness, when the Spirit and power of God 'builds up again the gospel-church in its primi- 'tive glory; when the everlasting gospel is

preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues and languages, in the authority and power of God; when the Spirit of the Lord is poured out plentifully on his sons and daughters, and they prophesy, walk, and live in it; when God dwells and walks in his people, and his true light shines in them, dispelling the darkness thoroughly, and filling them with the glory and majesty of the Lord; and they ascend up, out of the world's spirit and nature, into his Spirit and nature, even in the sight of their enemies, and the full wrath of the Lamb be poured out on Babylon, and the full glory revealed in Sion; then shall there be such a day of brightness, and pure heavenly glory, as shall dazzle the eyes of all beholders.'

'But the passing away of this night, and the bringing forth of this day, will be very terrible and dreadful, both in particulars and in nations. The kingdoms of this world must indeed become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ; but it will require great power to bring it about. The wrath and strength of the spirit of darkness will be working against the Lord and his power to the utmost; and the more it works against the Lord and his power, the more will the Lord's power and the wrath of the Lamb be revealed against that spirit, and against all its devices and undertakings against the counsel and power of the Lord. Oh! blessed are they that are of the Lamb's nature and spirit, of his righteousness and

'meekness; for the wrath of the Lamb will not be kindled against them; but he will be a munition of rocks unto them, and their inward life shall be preserved, and they shall enjoy peace with the Lord, in the midst of all that shall outwardly befall them.'

'Mesborow, in Kent, 22d 6th month, 1679.'

The second part, which is somewhat longer, is dated three days after the foregoing. It describes the state that will be safe when the divine judgments are poured upon nations; and also sets forth the class that will not be able to find a shelter in that trying time. Then follows, after some benevolent aspirations, an address, by way of advice to such as 'are touched with 'the fear of the Lord,' and the sense of his 'righteous judgments due to this nation.' A short postscript to this part, thus concludes the volume:

'The gospel-religion is very precious, being 'inwardly felt and experienced in the life and 'power of it; but a bare profession of it, out 'of the life and power of godliness, is of no 'value in the sight of God, nor is it of any 'profit or advantage to the soul.'

The End.

Printed by W. Phillips, George-Yard, Lombard-Street.